

DUKE
UNIVERSITY



LIBRARY

PLUTARCH'S LIVES OF THE NOBLE
GRECIANS AND ROMANES TRANS-
LATED BY SIR THOMAS NORTH
VOLUME VI

THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE
GRECIANS AND ROMANES,
COMPARED TOGETHER BY THAT GRAVE
LEARNED PHILOSOPHER & HISTORIO-
GRAPHER, PLUTARKE OF CHÆRONEA:
TRANSLATED OUT OF GREEKE INTO FRENCH BY
JAMES AMYOT, ABBOT OF BÉLLOZANE, BISHOP
OF AUXERRE, ONE OF THE KINGS PRIVY COUN-
SEL, AND GREAT AMNER OF FRAUNCE, AND OUT
OF FRENCH INTO ENGLISH, BY THOMAS NORTH.
DECORATED BY THOMAS LOWINSKY
VOLUME THE SIXTH



PRINTED AT THE SHAKESPEARE HEAD PRESS
STRATFORD-UPON-AVON AND PUBLISHED FOR
THE PRESS BY BASIL BLACKWELL OXFORD
MCMXXVIII

288.8
P737LI
V. 6

The Contents of Volume VI

AGIS AND CLEOMENES	page 1
TIBERIVS, AND CAIVS GRACCHI	67
COMPARISON OF TIBERIVS AND CAIVS GRACCHI WITH AGIS AND CLEOMENES	114
THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES	120
THE LIFE OF MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO	158
COMPARISON OF CICERO WITH DEMOSTHENES	221
THE LIFE OF DEMETRIVS	227
THE LIFE OF MARCVS ANTONIVS	298
COMPARISON OF DEMETRIVS WITH ANTONIVS	401

606723



Agis and Cleomenes

TRUELY the fable of *Ixion* was not ill devised against ambitious persons: who imbracing a clowde for the goddessse *Juno*, begot (as it is sayd) the *CENTAVRI*. For even so ambitious men, imbracing glory for the true image of vertue, doe never any acte that is good nor perfect: but beeing caried away with divers fancies, and following others humors with desire to please the people, they may, as the herdmen in the tragedy of *Sophocles* (speaking of their cattell) say:

*We wayt uppon their beasts, though we their Maisters bee,
And wheresoever they become, there also followe wee.*

Such in deede are they compared to, that governe common weales, after peoples lust and fancy: who doubtles, are as their servaunts obedient at call, bicause they onely may enjoy the glorious title and name of an Officer. For like as in a shippe the Mariners that stande in the

VOL. VI

b

*Theophrastus for the
praise of
vertue.*

*Immoderat
praise very
dangerous.*

*Phocians
saying.*

*The fable of
the Dragons
head and
taile.*

prowe, doe better see before them, then the Pilots that steere the helme in the poope, and yet lookes alwayes backe unto them to see what they commaunde: even so, they that governe in the common wealth for honors sake, are no better then honorable slaves of the people, having no more but the bare name of a governor. But in deede, the perfect good and honest man should never covet outward glory, but as a meane to bringe him to noble attempts, whereby he might procure the better credit of his doings. And for a younge man that coveteth honor by vertue, give him leave a litle to glory in his well doing: for, as *Theophrastus* sayth, vertue buddeth and florisheth in youth, and taketh fast roote by prayes given, as wit & corage groweth in them. But overmuch praise is dangerous in every person, but chiefly in ambitious governors. For if they be men of great power, it makes them commit many desperat partes: for they will not allow that honor proceedes of vertue, but that honor is vertue it selfe. But in deed they should say as *Phocion* did unto *Antipater*, that requested an unlawfull matter of him: Thou canst not, said he, have *Phocion* a friend and flatterer both. This, or the very like, may be sayd unto the people: you can not both have one, a Maister and a servaunt, that can commaunde and obey together. Or els the mischief spoken of in the tale of the Dragon must needs happen, which was: the taile on a time fell out with the head, and complained, saying, it would an other while go before, and would not alwaies come behind. The head graunted the taile, which fell out very ill for it, not knowing howe to guide the heade, and besides that the head thereby was tormented every way, beeing compelled against nature to follow that part & member, which could nether heare, nor see how to guide it. The like matter have we seene happen unto many, which in

the administracion of the common wealth, did seeke to please the humors of the multitude. For when they have once put their heads under their girdles to please the common people, which without cause and reason doe soone rebell: they can by no possible meanes afterwards bridle their furie and insolencie. Now the reason that made us to enter into discourse against the ambition and vaine glorye amongst the people: was the consideracion I had of their greate power, remembring the misfortunes of *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi*: bothe the which comming of a noble house, and having bene marvelous well brought up, and maneing also the affayres of the common wealth with a good desire, were notwithstanding in the ende cast away: not so much through covetousnes of glorye, as for feare of dishonor, which came also of no base mind. For they having received great pleasures and friendships of the people, were ashamed to be indetted to them, and therefore earnestly sought to exceede the people in good will, by new decrees and devises, which they preferred for common benefit: and the people also for their partes contended to honor them the more, by how much they strived to shewe them selves thankefull. So with like strife on either side, they to gratifie the common people, and the people also to honor them, were unwares so entangled with publike causes, that they could no more follow the common proverbe, which sayth:

*Although our deedes discent from equitie,
Yet can we not desist with honestie.*

This thou shalt easily finde by the declaracion of the historie. With these we doe compare two other popular men, both kinges of LACEDÆMON, *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they, as the *Gracchi*, seeking to increase the power of

Plutarch excuseth the Gracchi.

the common people, and to restore the just and honest government againe of the common wealth of LACEDÆMON, which of long time had bene out of use: did in like manner purchase the hate of the nobilitie, which were loth to lose any part of their wonted covetousnes. In deed these two LACONIANS were no brethren borne, but yet did both follow one selfe course and forme of government, which had beginning in this sort. After that covetousnes of gold and silver crept againe into the citie of SPARTA, and with riches, covetousnes also and miserie, and by use, voluptuousnes and licentious life: SPARTA then was void of all honor and goodnes, and was long time drowned in shame and dishonor, untill

The lynage of Agis. king *Agis* and *Leonidas* came to raigne there. *Agis* was of the house of the *Eurytionides*, the sonne of *Eudamidas*, the sixt of lineall descent after *Agésilau*s, who had bene the greatest Prince of all GRÆCE in his time. This *Agésilau*s had a sonne slaine in ITALY by the MESSAPIANS, called *Archidamus*, before the citie of MANDONIVM. *Archidamus* had issue two sonnes, *Agis*, and *Eudamidas* that

was king, who succeeded his brother *Agis*, whom *Antipater* slue before the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, and left no children behind him. *Eudamidas* begat *Archidamus*, which *Archidamus* begat another *Eudamidas*: which *Eudamidas*

The lynage of Leonidas. also begat *Agis*, whose life we now write of. *Leonidas* also, the sonne of *Cleonymus*, was of the other familie of the *Agiades*, the eight of succession after *Pausanias*, who

slue *Mardonius*, the kings Lieuetenant general of PERSIA, in a battell fought before the citie of PLATEES. This *Pausanias* had a sonne called *Plistonax*, and *Plistonax* also an other, called *Pausanias*: who flying from SPARTA unto the citie of TEGEA, his eldest sonne *Agésipolis* was made king in his fathers roome, who dying without issue, his yonger brother *Cleombrotus* succeeded him in the king-

dom. *Cleombrotus* had two sonnes, *Agessipolis* and *Cleomenes*: of the which, *Agessipolis* raigned not long king, and dyed without issue. Then *Cleomenes* his brother, who was king after him, had two sonnes, *Acrotatus* the elder, that dyed in his fathers life time: and *Cleonymus* the yonger which survived him, and was not king, but one *Areus* his Nephewe, the sonne of *Acrotatus*. This *Areus* dyed before the citie of CORINTHE: who having an other *Acrotatus* to his sonne, he succeeded him in the kingdome.

He also dyed at a battell before the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, and was slayne there by the tyrant *Aristodemus*, leaving his wife great with childe. She beeing brought to bedde after his death of a sonne, whome *Leonidas* the sonne of *Cleonymus* taught and brought up: the childe dying very young, the crowne by his death was cast apon *Leonidas* him selfe.

Aristodemus, tyrant of Megalipolis.

Howbeit his maners and conditions never liked the people. For though all men generally were corrupted through the common wealth, and cleane out of order: yet *Leonidas* of all other exceeded, deforming most the auncient LACONIAN life, bicause he had bene long time brought up in Princes houses, and followed also *Seleucus* Court, from whence he had brought all the pride and pompe of those Courts into GRÆCE,

Leonidas brought superfluitie and excesse into Sparta.

where law and reason ruleth. *Agis* on the contrary part did not onely farre excel *Leonidas*, in honor and magnanimitie of mind: but all other almost also which had raigned in SPARTA, from the time of *Agessilaus* the great. So that when *Agis* was not yet twenty yeare old, and being daintily brought up with the finenes of two women, his mother *Agessistrata*, and *Archidamia* his grandmother, which had more gold and silver, then all the LACEDÆMONIANS els: he began to spurne against these womanish delights and pleasures, in making him selfe fayer to be the better beliked, and to be fine and trimme in his apparell, and to cast upon him a plaine spanish cape, tak-

The continency of *Agis*.

The first beginning of the Lacedæmonians fall, from their auncient discipline.

Lycurgus restra, for partition of landes, broken by Epitadeus law. Epitadeus law for devise of landes by will.

ing pleasure in the dyet, bathes, and manner of the auncient LACONIAN life: and openly boasted besides, that he would not desire to be king, but onely for the hope he had to restore the auncient LACONIAN life by his authority. Then began the state of LACEDÆMON first to be corrupted, and to leave her auncient discipline, when the LACEDÆMONIANS having subdued the Empire of the ATHENIANS, stored them selves and contry both, with plenty of gold and silver. But yet reserving still the lands left unto them by succession from their fathers, according unto *Lycurgus* first ordinaunce and institucion, for division of the landes amongst them: which ordinaunce, and equalitie being inviolably kept amongst them, did yet preserve the common wealth from defamacion of divers other notorious crimes. Until the time of the authoritie of *Epitadeus*, one of the Ephores, a seditious man, and of prowde conditions: who bitterly falling out with his owne sonne, preferred a law, that every man might lawfully give his landes and goods whilst he lived, or after his death by testament, unto any man whom he liked or thought well of. Thus this man made this law to satisfie his anger, and others also did confirme it for covetousnes sake, and so overthrew a noble ordinaunce. For the riche men then began to buy landes of numbers, and so transferred it from the right and lawful heires: whereby a few men in short time being made very riche, immediatly after there fell out great povertie in the citie of SPARTA, which made all honest sciences to cease, and brought in thereuppon unlawfull occupacions, who envied them that were wealthy. Therefore, there remayned not above seven hundred naturall Citizens of SPARTA in all, & of them, not above a hundred that had landes and inheritance: for all the rest were poore people in the citie, and were of no countenance nor calling, and besides that, went unwillingly to the warres against their

enemies, looking every day for sturre and chaunge in the citie. *Agis* therefore thinking it a notable good acte (as in deede it was) to replenish the citie of SPARTA againe, and to bringe in the old equalitie, he moved the matter unto the Citizens. He found the youth (against all hope) to give good eare unto him, and very well given unto vertue, easily chaunging their garments and life, to recover their libertie againe. But the oldest men, which were now even rotten with covetousnes and corruption, they were affraid to returne againe to the straight ordinances of *Lycurgus*, as a slave and ronnegate from his Maister, that trembleth when he is brought back againe unto him. Therefore they reproved *Agis*, when he did lament before them their present miserable estate, and wishe also for the former auncient honor and true dignitie of SPARTA. Howbeit *Lysander* the sonne of *Lybis*, and *Mandroclidas* the sonne of *Ecphanes*, and *Agesilaus* also, greatly commended his noble desire, and perswaded him to goe forward withall. This *Lysander* was of great authoritie and estimation amongst them in the citie: *Mandroclidas* was also very wise, and carefull, about any matter of counsell, and with his wisdom and policy, very valiant: *Agesilaus* in like manner, the kings Uncle, and an eloquent man, was very effeminate and covetous, and yet prickt forward to give his furtherance to this attempt as it appeared, by his sonne *Hippomedon*, who was a notable good souldier, and could doe very much, by meanes of the love and good will the younge men did beare him. But in deede, the secret cause that brought *Agesilaus* to consent unto this practise, was the greatnes of his dette which he ought, of the which he hoped to be discharged by chaunging of the state & common wealth. Now when *Agis* had wonne him, hesought by his meanes to drawe his mother also unto the matter, which was *Agesilaus* sister. She could doe very much by the number

*Agis goeth
about to re-
duce the com-
mon wealth
to her aunc-
ient estate.*

of her friendes, followers, and detters in the citie, by whose meanes she ruled the most part of the affayres of the citie after her owne pleasure. But the young man *Hippomedon* making her privie unto it, at the first she was amased withall, and bad him hold his peace if he were wise, and not medle in matters unpossible and unprofitable. But when *Agesilaus* had told her what a notable acte it would be, and how easily it might be brought to passe, with marvelous great profit: and that king *Agis* beganne also to strayne her with great intreatie, that she would willingly depart with her goods to winne her sonne honor and glory: who, though he could not in money and riches come to be like unto other kinges (bicause the slaves and factors onely of the kinges *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy*, had more money then all the kinges of SPARTA had together that ever raigned) yet if in temperance, thriftiness, and noble mind (exceeding all their vanities) he could come to restore the LACEDÆMONIANS againe unto equalitie: that then in deede he should be counted a noble king. These women being stirred up with ambition by these perswasions of the younge man, seeing him so nobly bent, as if by the goddes their mindes had secretly bene inflamed with the love of vertue: did presently alter their mindes in such sort, that they them selves did pricke forward *Agis*, and sent for their friends to pray and intreate them to favor his enterprise: and furthermore, they brought on other women also, knowing that the LACEDÆMONIANS did ever heare and beleve their wives, suffering them to understand more of the affayres of the state, then they them selves did of their private estate at home. Herein is to be considered, that the most part of the riches of LACEDÆMON was in the handes of the women, and therefore they were against it, not onely bicause thereby they were cut of from their finenes and excesse, in the which being ignorant of the true good in

*How loving
the Lacedæ-
monians were
unto their
wives.*

deede, they put all their felicitie: but also, bicause they sawe their honor and authoritie which they had by their riches, cleane troden under foote. Therefore they coming to *Leonidas*, they did perswade him to reprove *Agis*, bicause he was elder man then he, and to let that this enterprise went not forward. *Leonidas* did what he could in favour of the riche, but fearing the common people, who desired nothing but alteracion, he durst not openly speake against him, but secretly he did the best he could to hinder *Agis* practise, talking with the Magistrates of the citie, and accusing *Agis* unto them, he told them how he did offer the riche mens goods unto the poore, the division of their landes, and the abolishing of all detts, for rewarde to put the tyrannie into his handes, and that thereby he got him a stronge gard unto him selfe, but not many Citizens unto SPARTA. This notwithstanding, king *Agis* having procured *Lysander* to be chosen one of the Ephores, he presently preferred his lawe unto the counsell. *Agis law.* The articles whereof were these: That such as were in debt, should be cleered of all their debts, and that the landes also should be divided into equall partes: so that from the valley of Pallena unto mount Taugetus, and unto the cities of MALEA, and SELASIA, there should be foure thowsand five hundred partes, and without those boundes, there should be in all the rest, fifteene thowsand partes, the which should be distributed unto their neighbours meete to cary weapon: and the rest unto the natural SPARTANS. The number of them should be replenished with their neighbours and straungers in like manner, which should be very well brought up, and be able men besides to serve the common wealth: all the which afterwards should be divided into fifteene companies, of the which, some should receive two hundred, and others foure hundred men, and should live according to the olde auncient institution observed by their

auncestors. This lawe being preferred unto the Senate, the Senators grewe to divers opinions apon it. Where-uppon *Lysander* him selfe assembled the great counsell of all the people, and there spake unto them him selfe, and *Mandroclidas*, and *Agesilaus* also, praying them not to suffer the honor of SPARTA to be troden under foote, for the vanitie of a fewe: but that they would remember the auncient oracles of the goddes, warning them to beware of avarice, as of the plague and destruction of the common wealth: and of the late oracle also brought unto them, from the temple of *Pasiphaë*. The temple and oracle of *Pasiphaë* was famous at the citie of THALAMES: and some say, that *Pasiphaë* was one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, which was gotten with child by *Jupiter*, and was delivered of a sonne called *Hammon*. Other thinke that it was *Cassandra*, one of king *Priamus* Daughters that died there, which was surnamed *Pasiphaë*, because she gave all the aunswers and oracles of things to come. But *Phylarchus* writeth, that *Daphné* the Daughter of *Amycla*, flying from *Apollo* that would have ravished her, was turned into a lawrell tree, and honored by *Apollo* with the gift of prophecie. So, they said that this oracle of the god commaunded them, that the SPARTANS should againe returne unto their former auncient equalitie, stablished first by *Lycurgus* lawe. When every man els had spoken, king *Agis* rising up, briefly speaking unto the people, sayd: that he would bestowe great contributions for the reformation of this common wealth, which he was desirous to restore againe. For first of all, he would make common all his errable and pasture he had, and besides that, he would adde to six hundred talents in ready money, and so much should his mother, grandmother, kinsemen and friendes, all the which were the richest and wealthiest in SPARTA. When the people heard what he sayd, they marvelled much at the noble

*Pasiphaë,
the Daughte
of Atlas.*

*Agis mak-
eth his goods
common.*

minde of this younge king, and were very glad of it, saying: that for three hundred yeares space together, the citie of SPARTA had not so worthy a king as he. But *Leonidas* contrarily assayed with all his power he could resist him, thinking with him selfe, that if king *Agis* purpose tooke place, he should also be compelled to doe as he did, and yet he should haye no thanks, but king *Agis*: bicause that all the SPARTANS indifferently should be compelled to make their goods in common, but the honor should be his onely that first beganne it. So he asked *Agis*, whether he thought *Lycurgus* had bene a good and just man or not. *Agis* aunswered, that he had bene. Then replyed *Leonidas*, did you ever see that he had taken away and abolished any detts, or had receyved straungers into the number of the Citizens of SPARTA? Who contrarily thought his common wealth unperfect, if all straungers were not banished the citie. *Agis* agayne aunswered him: that he marvelled not that *Leonidas* being brought up in a straung contry, and also maryed there in a noble mans house, he should be ignorant of *Lycurgus* lawes, who banishing gold and silver out of his citie, did therewithall exile dette and lending. And for straungers, he hated them that woulde not conforme them selves unto the manners and facions of life which he instituted, and those they were which he banished: not for any ill will he bare unto their persons, but bicause he feared their manners of life, least that mingling them with the Citizens, they should make them runne after vanitie and covetousnes to be riche. For otherwise, *Terpander*, *Thales*, and *Pherecydes*, which were all straungers, were marvelously revered and honored in SPARTA in olde tyme, bicause they did singe in their writings, the selfe same thinges which *Lycurgus* had established in his lawes. And thou thy selfe also doest commend *Ecprepes*, being one of the Ephores, bicause he did cut with a

Leonidas resists king Agis.

hatchet the two stringes which *Phrynis* the Musitian had added unto the Citherne, more then the seven common stringes, and those also which did the like unto *Timotheus*: and yet thou reproveſt me, bicause I goe about to roote out all excesse and pride out of SPARTA, as though those men did not farre of prevent that these superfluous stringes of the musicke, delighting the Citizens mindes too much with their songes, should not cause them fall unto such trade and manner of life, as should make the citie at discord with it selfe. After this contencion, the common people did sticke unto king *Agis*, and the riche men followed *Leonidas*, praying and perswading him not to forsake them: and further, they did so intreate the Senators, in whom consisteth the chiefe authority, to determine and disgest all matters before they be pownded unto the people, that they overthrew the law, by the onely voice of one man more. Wherefore *Lysander* who was yet in office, attempted to accuse *Leonidas* by an auncient lawe, forbidding that none of the race of *Hercules* should mary with any straung woman, nor beget children of her: and sayde further, that no man upon payne of death should dwell any where, but in SPARTA. When he had instructed others to object these thinges agaynst *Leonidas*, he with other of his colleagues observed a signe in the element, the ceremony wherof was in this sorte: Every nynenth yeare, the Ephori chusing a bright night without moonelight, did sit downe in some open place, and beheld the starres in the element, to see if they saw any starre shoote from one place to another: if they did, then they accused their kinges that they had offended the goddes, and did deprive them of their kingdom, untill some oracle came from DELPHES or *Olympus*, to restore them againe. *Lysander* then declaring that he had seene a starre flie in the element, did therefore accuse king *Leonidas*, and brought forth witnesses against

King Leonidas accused by Lysander.

him: how he had married a woman of ASIA, the which one of king *Seleucus* Lieuetenants had given him in marriage, and that he had two children by her: and afterwards being forsaken of his wife that refused him, he returned againe into his contry against his will, and so had possessed the kingdom for lacke of lawful heire. So following his accusation in this manner against him, he allured *Cleombrotus* his sonne in law, being also of the kings blood, to make title to the crowne. *Leonidas* being affraid of the successe hereof, tooke sanctuary in the temple of *Juno*, surnamed *Chalceecos*, and his Daughter with him, who forsooke her husband *Cleombrotus*. *Leonidas* then being cited to appeare in person, and making default, they deposed him, and made *Cleombrotus* king. In the meane time *Lysanders* office expired, and the new Ephori which succeded him, did deliver *Leonidas* againe, and accused *Lysander* and *Mandroclidas*, bicause against the law, they had abolished all debts, and had againe made newe division of lands. When they sawe they were openly accused, they incensed both the kinges, that joyning together, they shoulde make the Ephores ordinaunces of no effect: declaring, that their authority was onely erected for the discord of the two kings, bicause they should give their voices unto that king that had the best judgement and reason, when the other would wilfully withstand both right and reason. And therfore, that they two agreing together, might lawfully do what they would, without controlment of any person: and that to resist the kings was a breaking of the lawe, sith that by right the Ephori had no other privilage and authority, but to be judges and arbitrators betwene them, when there was any cause of jarre or controversie. Both the kings being caried away by this perswasion, went into the market place accompanied with their frends, plucked the Ephores from their seates, and put others in their roomes,

Leonidas deprived of his kingdom.

*Leonidas fly-
eth unto Te-
gea.*

*King Agis
deceived by
Agesilaus.*

*New lawes
stablished by
the Lacedæ-
monians.*

of the which *Agesilaus* was one. Furthermore, they armed a great number of yong men, & opening the prisons, did set the prisoners at liberty: the which made their adversaries affraid of them, doubting some great murther would have followed upon it, howbeit no man had any hurt. For *Agesilaus* being bent to kill *Leonidas*, who fled unto the city of *TEGEA*, and having also laid men in waite for him by the way: king *Agis* hearing of it, sent thither other frends of his in whom he put great confidence, and they did accompany *Leonidas*, and brought him safely unto the city of *TEGEA*. Thus their purpose taking effect, and no man contrarying them: one man only *Agesilaus* overthrew all, and dashed a noble *LACONIAN* law by a shamful vice, which was covetousnes. For he being a great landed man, and having the best lands of any man in the contry, and owing a great summe of money besides: would nether pay his detts, nor let go his land. Wherefore he perswaded king *Agis*, that if he went about to stablish both together, he should raise a great uprore in the city, and withall, if he did first winne them that were landed men, preferring at the beginning the cutting of of detts only: then that they would easily & willingly also accept the law for partition of lands. *Lysander* was also of his opinion: wherby king *Agis* and he both were deceived by *Agesilaus* subtlety. So they commaunded al the creditors to bring their bonds, obligations, and bills of det (which the *LACEDÆMONIANS* do cal *Claria*) into the market place, and there laying them on a heape together, they did set fire of them. When the usurers and creditors saw their writings obligatory afire, they departed thence with heavy harts: but *Agesilaus* mocking them said, he never saw a brighter fire in his life. The people then requiring that the lands also should be presently devided, and the kings likewise commaunding it: *Agesilaus* stil interposing some cause of let, delaied time,

untill oportunitye served, that king *Agis* should go to the warres, for that the ACHAÏANS their confederats had praied aide of LACEDÆMON, being bound thereunto by the league confirmed betwene them, bicause they looked daily that the ÆTOLIANS comming through the contry of MEGARA, would invade PELOPONNESVS. *Aratus* *Aratus, general of the Achaïans.* general of the ACHAÏANS had leaved a great army to withstand their invasion, and had also written unto the Ephores, that they should send them aide. Whereuppon, they presently sent king *Agis*, perceiving also the readiness and good wil of the souldiers which were appointed *King Agis journey into Achaia.* to go with him. For the most of them were young men and needy, who seing them selves discharged of the feare of their dets, and hoping also at their return, that the lands likewise should be devided among them: they went with glad harts, and were obedient unto king *Agis*. So that the cities where through they passed, wondred how they came through all PELOPONNESVS, from the one side to the other, very quietly, without noyse or offence to any man. Likewise many GRÆCIANS calling to mind the auncient times, told one another, that it was a noble sight then to see the army of LACEDÆMON, when they were led by *Agesilaus*, *Lysander*, and *Leonidas*, famous captaines: sith now they saw so great obedience unto *Agis* by his souldiers, who was in maner the yongest man of all his campe. Who also glorying to be content with litle, to away with paines, and not to be more costly apparelled and armed then any privat souldier he had: he wanne him self therby a marvelous love of the people. Howbeit the rich men liked not this chaung, and were affraid lest *Agis* should give other people example to rise also, and to do the like with theirs, as he had done. *Agis* meting with *Aratus* by the city of CORINTHE, even as he was consulting whether he should fight with his enemy or not: shewed him self in his counsel, then no rash, but

*King Agis
gave place
unto Aratus.*

a resolute and valiant man. For he told him, that for his opinion he thought it better to fight, and not to suffer the warre to come any further, leaving the entry into PELOPONNESVS free to their enemy: nevertheles, that he would do what *Aratus* thought good, bicause he was the elder, and general also of the ACHAIANS, whom he came not to commaund, but to aide them. But *Baton* SINOPIAN writeth, that king *Agis* would not fight, though *Aratus* was willing: howbeit he had not red that which *Aratus* had written for his excuse and justification, alleaging there, that the farmers and husbandmen having brought all the corne into their barnes, he thought it better to suffer the enemies to come further into the contry, rather then to hazard battel, to the losse of the whole contry of PELOPONNESVS, and that therfore he licenced al the confederats to depart, and brake up his army. So king *Agis* returned home again, greatly honored of al them that served with him in this jorney, finding the city of SPARTA then in great broile and trouble. For *Agésilas* at that time being one of the Ephores, finding him self rid of the feare which before kept him under: cared not what injury or mischief he did to any citizen, so he might get money. For amongst other things, that very yere he made them pay beyond al reason the tallages and taxes due unto the common wealth for thirtene moneths, adding to the thirteenth moneth, above the ordinary time of the yere. Wherefore perceiving every man hated him, and being affraid of them he had offended: he kept souldiers about him, armed with their swords, and so came downe into the market place among them. And for the two kings, he made no accompt of the one: but of the other that was *Agis*, he semed outwardly to make good accompt, rather for kinreds sake, then for his dignity of a king, & furthermore gave it out abroad, that he would also be one of the Ephores the next yere following.

Wheruppon, his enemies spedely to prevent the daunger, gathered force together, and openly brought king *Leonidas* from TEGEA, to restore him again to his kingdom. The people were glad to see that, because they were angry they had bene mocked in that sort, for that the landes were not devided according unto promise. Furthermore, *Hippomedon* was so welbeloyed for his valiantnes of every man, that intreating the people for his father *Agesilaus*, he saved his life, and got him out of the city. But for the two kings, *Agis* tooke sanctuary in the temple of *Juno Chalceæcos*. And *Cleombrotus* the other king fled into the temple of *Neptune*: for it semed that *Leonidas* being much more offended with him, did let king *Agis* alone, and went against him with certen soldiers armed. Then he sharply taunted him, that being his sonne in law, he had conspired against him to deprive him of his kingdom, and had driven him out of his contry. But then *Cleombrotus* not having a word to say, sate stil, and made him no answer. Wheruppon his wife *Chelonis*, the daughter of *Leonidas*, who before was offended for the injury they did her father, and had left her husband *Cleombrotus*, that had usurped the kingdom from him, to serve her father in his adversity, and while he was in sanctuary tooke part with him also of his misery, and afterwards when he went unto the city of TEGEA, ware blacks for sorow, being offended with her husband: she contrarily then chaunging her anger with her husbands fortune and misery, became also an humble suter with him sitting down by him, and imbracing him, having her two litle sonnes on either side of them. All men wondering, and weping for pity, to see the goodnes and natural love of this Lady, who shewing her mourning apparell, and heare of her head flaring about her eyes, bare headed: she spake in this sort unto her father. "O father mine, this sorowfull garment & countenance is not for pity of

King Leonidas returneth from exile into Sparta.

The naturall love of Chelonis Leonidas daughter, unto her father and husband.

The oration of Chelonis the Daughter of Leonidas.

Cleombrotus, but hath long remained with me, lamenting sore your former misery and exile: but now, which of the two should I rather choose, either to continue a mourner in this pitiful state, seing you again restored to your kingdom, having overcome your enemies: or els putting on my princely apparel, to see my husband slain, unto whom you married me a maid? who, if he can not move you to take compassion of him, and to obtain mercy, by the teares of his wife and children: he shal then abide more bitter paine of his evil counsel, then that which you intend to make him suffer. For he shal see his wife die before him, whom he loveth more derely then any thing in the world. Also, with what face can I loke upon other ladies, when I could never bring my father to pity, by any intercession I could make for my husband, neither my husband, intreating him for my father: and that my hap is to be borne, a daughter and wife, alwaies most unfortunat, and despised of mine owne? And for my husband, if he had any reason to do that he did, I then tooke it from him, by taking your parte, and protesting against him: and contrarily, your selfe doth give him honest culler to excuse his faulte, when he seeth in you the desire of the kingdom so great, that for the love thereof, you thinke it lawfull to kill your sonnes in law, and also not to regard the children he hath gotten, for her sake." *Chelonis* pitifully complayning in this sorte, putting her face upon *Cleombrotus* head, cast her swollen & blubbering eyes upon the standers by. Wherefore *Leonidas* after he had talked a litle with his friendes, he commaunded *Cleombrotus* to get him thence, and to leave the citie as an exile: and prayed his Daughter for his sake to remayne with him, and not to forsake her father, that did so dearely love her, as for her sake he had saved her husbands life. This notwithstanding, she would not yeelde to his request, but rising up with her husband, gave him

The banishment of king Cleombrotus.

one of his sonnes, and her self tooke the other in her armes: and then making her prayer before the altar of the goddesse, she went as a banished woman away with her husband. And truely the example of her vertue was so famous, that if *Cleombrotus* mind had not bene too much blinded with vain glory, he had cause to thinke his exile farre more happy, to enjoye the love of so noble a wife as he had, then for the kingdom which he possessed without her. Then *Leonidas* having banished king *Cleom-*

*The great
vertue and
love of Che-
lonis, to her
husband
Cleombro-
tus.*

brotus out of the city, and removing the first Ephores, had substituted other in their place: he presently be- thought him howe he might craftily come by king *Agis*. First, he perswaded him to come out of the sanctuary, and to governe the kingdom safely with him, declaring unto him that his citzens had forgiven him all that was past, bicause they knew he was deceived, and subtely curcumvented by *Agesilaus* craft, being a young man, ambitious of honor. *Agis* would not leave the sanctuary for *Leonidas* cunning perswasion, but mistrusted all that he said unto him: Wherefore, *Leonidas* would no more beguile him with faire words. But *Amphares*, *Demochares*, and *Arcesilaus*, did oftentimes go to visit king *Agis*, and otherwhile also they got him out of the sanctuary with them unto the bath, and brought him backe againe into the temple, when he had bathed. But *Amphares* hav-

*Amphares
betrayed king
Agis.*

ing borrowed not long before, certein rich apparel and plate of *Agesistrata*, bicause he would not redeliver them againe, he determined to betray king *Agis*, his mother, and grandmother. And it is reported that he chiefly did serve *Leonidas* turne, & provoked the Ephores (of which number he was one) against *Agis*. Now therefore, *Agis* keeping all the rest of his time within the temple, saving when he went upon occasion to the bath: they determined to intercept him by the way, and to take him when he was out of the sanctuary. So they watched him one

*King Agis
carried unto
prison.*

day when he bathed, and came and saluted him as their maner was, and seemed to accompany him, sporting, and being mery with him, as with a young man their famillier. But when they came to the turning of a streete that went towardes the prison, *Amphares* laying hold on him, beeing one of the Ephores, said unto him: I arrest thee *Agis*, and wil bring thee before the Ephores, to give accompt of thy doings in the common wealth. Then *Demochares*, which was a great mighty man cast his gowne over his eares, and pulled him forward: others also thrust him forward behind him, as they had agreed together. So no man being neare them to help *Agis*, they got him into prison. Then came *Leonidas* incontinently with a great number of souldiers that were straungers, and beset the prison round about. The Ephores went into the prison, and sent unto some of the Senate to come unto them, whom they knew to be of their mind: then they commaunded *Agis*, as if it had bene judicially, to give accompt of the alteracion he had made in the common wealth. The younge man laughed at their hypocrisie. But *Amphares* told him that it was no laughing sport, and that he should pay for his folly. Then another of the Ephores seeming to deale more favorably with him, and to shew him a way how he might escape the condemnation for his fault: asked him, if he had not bene intised unto it by *Agesilaus*, and *Lysander*. *Agis* aunswered, that no man compelled him, but that he onely did it to follow the steppes of the auncient *Lycurgus*, to bring the common wealth unto the former estate of his grave ordinance and institution. Then the same Senator asked him againe, if he did not repent him of that he had done. The younge man boldly aunswered him, that he would never repent him of so wise & vertuous an enterprise, though he ventred his life for it. Then they condemned him to death, and commaunded the Sergeants to cary him into

the Decade, which was a place in the prison where they were strangled, that were condemned to dye. *Demochares* perceiving the Sergeaunts durst not lay hold of him, and likewise that the souldiers which were straungers, did abhorre to commit such a fact, contrary to the law of God and man, to lay violent hands upon the person of a king: he threatned and reviled them, and dragged *Agis* perforce into that place called the Decade. Now the rumor ranne straight through the citie, that king *Agis* was taken, and a multitude of people were at the prison dores with lights & torches. Thither came also king *Agis* mother and grandmother, shrieking out, and praying that the king of SPARTA might yet be heard and judged by the people. For this cause, they hastned his death the sooner, and were afraid besides, least the people in the night would take him out of their hands by force, if there came any more people thither. Thus king *Agis* being led to his death, spied a Sergeaunt lamenting & weeping for him, unto whom he said: good fellowe, I pray thee weepe not for me, for I am honeste man then they that so shamefully put me to death, and with those words he willingly put his head into the halter. *Amphares* then going out of the prison into the street, found *Agisi-strata* there, king *Agis* mother, who straight fel downe at his feete: but he taking her up againe, in old famillier manner, as being her very friend, told her that they should doe king *Agis* no hurt, and that she might if she would, goe and see him. Then she prayed, that they would also let her mother in with her. *Amphares* sayde, with a good will: and so put them both into the prison house, and made the dores be shut after them. But when they were within, he first gave *Archidamia* unto the Sergeaunts to be put to death, who was a marvelous olde woman, and had lived more honorably unto that age, then any Lady or Matrone beside her in the citie. She being executed, he commaunded

Note the reverent regard of the heathen, unto the person of a king, abhorring to lay violent hands upon him.

King Agis, his mother, and grandmother, all three strangled.

Agesistrata also to come in. Who when she sawe the bodye of her dead sonne layed on the ground, and her mother also hanging on the gallows: she did her selfe helpe the hangman to plucke her downe, and layed her body by her sonnes. Then having covered her in decent manner, she layed her downe on the ground by the corps of her sonne *Agis*, and kissing his cheeke sayd: out, alas my sonne, thy great modestie, goodnes and clemencie, brought thee and us unto this deathe. Then *Amphares* peeping in at the dore to see what was done, hearing what she sayde, came in withall in a greate rage, and sayde: I perceyve thou hast also beene of counsell with thy sonne, and sithe it is so, thou shalt also followe him. Then she rising likewise to be strangled, sayd: the goddes graunt yet that this may profit SPARTA. This horrible murther beeing blowen abroad in the citie, and the three dead bodies also brought out of prison: the feare though it were great amongst the people, could not keepe them back from apparant show of grieffe, and manifest hate against *Leonidas* and *Amphares*, thinking that there was never a more wicked & crueller fact committed in SPARTA, since the DORIANS came to dwell in PELOPONNESVS. For the very enemies them selves in battell, would not willingly lay hands upon the kings of LACEDÆMON, but did forbear as much as they could possible, both for feare and reverence they bare unto their majestie. For in many great battels and conflicts which the LACEDÆMONIANS had against the GRÆCIANS, there was never any king of LACEDÆMON slain, before *Philips* time, but *Cleombrotus* only, who was slain with a dart at the battell of LEVCTRES. Some write also, that the MESSENIANS hold opinion, that their *Aristomenes* slue king *Theopompus*: howbeit the LACEDÆMONIANS sayde, that he was but hurt, not slayne. But hereof there are divers opinions: but it is certain that *Agis* was the first king whom

*The enemies
did not wil-
lingly kill any
king of Lacedæmon.*

the Ephores ever put to death: for that he had layd a plat of a noble devise, and worthy of SPARTA, being of that age when men doe easily pardon them that offend: and was rather to be accused of his friendes and enemies, because he had saved *Leonidas* life, and had trusted other men, as the best natured younge man that could be.

Now *Agis* having suffered in this sort, *Leonidas* was not quicke enough to take *Archidamus* his brother also, for he fled presently. Yet he brought *Agis* wife out of her house by force, with a litle boy she had by him, and married her unto his sonne *Cleomenes*, who was yet under age to marye: fearing least this younge Ladye should be bestowed els where, beeing in deede a great heire, and of a riche house, and the Daughter of *Gylippus*, called by her name *Agiatis*, besides that she was the fayrest woman at that tyme in all GRÆCE, and the vertuousest and best condicioned. Wherefore, for divers respects she praied she might not be forced to it. But now being at length married unto *Cleomenes*, she ever hated *Leonidas* to the death, and yet was a good and loving wife unto her young husband: Who immediatly after he was married unto her, fell greatly in fancy with her, and for compassions sake (as it seemed) he thanked her for the love she bare unto her first husband, and for the loving remembrance she had of him: insomuch as he him selfe many times would fall in talke of it, and would be inquisitive how thinges had passed, taking great pleasure to heare of *Agis* wise counsell and purpose. For *Cleomenes* was as desirous of honor, and had as noble a minde as *Agis*, and was borne also to temperancie and moderation of life, as *Agis* in like manner was: howbeit, he had not that shamefast modestie and lenitie which the other had, but was somewhat more sturring of nature, and readier to put any good matter in execution. So he thought it greates honestie to bringe the Citizens if he could, to be con-

Here beginneth Cleomenes life.

Cleomenes the sonne of Leonidas.

Agiatis, the Daughter of Gylippus, and wife to king Agis.

Agiatis, king Agis wife, maryed unto Cleomenes.

*Sphaerus, a
Philosopher
of Bory-
sthenes.*

tented to live after an honest sorte: but contrarily, he thought it no dishonestie to bringe them unto good life, by compulsion also. Furthermore, the manners of the Citizens of SPARTA, giving them selves over to idlenes and pleasure, did nothing like him at all: neither that the king did suffer the common wealth to be ruled as they listed, so no man impeached his pleasure, and that they did let him alone: insomuch no man regarding the profit of the common wealth, every man was for him self, and his familie. And contrarily, it was not lawfull for any man to speake for the exercises of the youth, for their education in temperancie, and for the restoring againe of equality of life, the preferment whereof was the only cause of the late death of *Agis*. They say also, that *Cleomenes* being a young stripling, had heard some disputation of Philosophie, when the Philosopher *Sphaerus*, of the contry of BORYSTHENES came to LACEDÆMON, and lovingly stayed there to teache younge men and children. He was one of the chiefeſt schollers of *Zenon* CITIZAN, & delighted (as it seemed) in *Cleomenes* noble minde, and had a great desire to pricke him forward unto honor. For, as it is reported, that the auncient *Leonidas* beeing demaunded what Poet he thought *Tyrtaeus* to be, answered he was good to flatter younge mens myndes: for he sette their hartes a fire by his verses, when they beganne to fight any battell, fearing no daunger, they were so incoraged by them. So the Stoicke discipline is somewhat daungerous, for the stowte and valiant myndes, which otherwise doth make them desperate: but when they are joyned unto a grave and gentle nature, first it lyfteth up his hart, and then maketh him taste the profit thereof. Nowe *Leonidas* (the father of *Cleomenes*) beeing deceased, and he him selfe comen unto the crowne, finding that the Citizens of SPARTA at that tyme were very dissolute, that the riche men followed their pleasure and

profit taking no care of the common weale, that the poore men also for very want and neede went with no good life & courage to the warres, nether cared for the bringing up of their children, and that he him selfe had but the name of a king, and the Ephori the absolute authoritie to doe what they listed: at his first comming to his kingdom, he determined to alter the whole state and government of the common wealth. Whó having a friend called *Xenares*, that had beene his lover in his youth (which the LACEDÆMONIANS called *Empništæ*, as much as inspired) he beganne to sownd his opinion, asking what maner of man king *Agis* had bene, and by what reason, and whose advise he had followed in his attempt for the reformation of the common wealth. *Xenares* at the first did not willingly rehearse these things unto him, declaring every thing what had passed. But when he found that *Cleomenes* was affected unto king *Agis* intent, and still desired to heare of it: then *Xenares* sharply and angrily reprovéd him, and tolde him he was not wise, nor well advised, and at length would no more come and talke with him as he was wont, yet making no man privye why he absteyned from comming to him, but told them that asked him, he knewe a cause well enough why. *Xenares* nowe having thus refused him, and thinking all the rest woulde doe the like: to bringe this matter to passe, he tooke this resolution with him selfe. Bicause he thought he might the rather doe it in warre, then in peace, he set the citie of SPARTA and the ACHAIANS at variance together: who did them selves give the first occasion to be complayned uppon. For *Aratus* beeing President and chiefe of all the ACHAIANS, had practised a longe tyme to bringe all PELOPONNESVS into one bodye: and had therefore onely susteyned great troubles in warres, and at home in peace: thinking that there was no other waye to deliver them from forreyne warres. Nowe

*Cleomenes
did set the
Lacedæmo-
nians and A-
chaians to-
gether by the
eares.*

when he had wonne all the other people to be of his opinion: there remained no more but the ELIANS, the LACEDÆMONIANS, and a few of the ARCHADIANS, which were subject unto the LACEDÆMONIANS. When king *Leonidas* was deade, *Aratus* beganne to invade the ARCHADIANS, those specially that bordered apou the ARGIVES: to prove how the LACEDÆMONIANS would take it, making no accompt of *Cleomenes*, being but a young king, and had no experience of warres. Thereuppon the Ephori sent *Cleomenes* unto ATHÆNIVM (a temple of *Minerva* hard by the citie of BELBINA) with an armie to take it: bicause it was a passage and entry into the contry of LACONIA, howbeit the place at that time was in question betwixt the MEGALOPOLITANES, and the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Cleomenes* got it, & fortetified it. *Aratus* making no complaint otherwise of the matter, stale out one night with his army to set apou the TEGEANS, and ORCHOMENIANS, hoping to have taken those cities by treason. But the traitors that were of his confederacy, their harts failed them when they should have gonne about it: so that *Aratus* returned, having lost his jorney, thinking that this secret attempt of his was not discovered. But *Cleomenes* finely wrote unto him as his friend, and asked him, whether he had led his armie by night: *Aratus* returned aunswer againe, that understanding *Cleomenes* ment to fortifie BELBINA, he went forth with his armye, thinking to have let him. *Cleomenes* wrote againe unto him, and said he did beleewe that which he spake was true: howbeit he earnestly requested him, (if it were no trouble to him) to advertise him why he brought schaling ladders and lightes after him. *Aratus* smiling at this mocke, asked what this young man was. *Democritus* LACEDÆMONIAN being a banished man out of his contry, aunswered: if thou hast any thing to doe against the LACEDÆMONIANS, thou hadst neede make hašte, before

this young Cockerel have on his spurres. Then *Cleomenes* being in the field in the contrie of ARCHADIA, with a few horsemen and three hundred footemen onely: the Ephori being affraid of warres, sent for him to returne againe. His backe was no sooner turned, obeying their commaundement: but *Aratus* sodainly tooke the citie of CAPHYES. Thereuppon, the Ephori incontinently sent *Cleomenes* backe again with his armie: who tooke the fort of Methydrium, and burnt the borders of the ARGIVES. The ACHAIANS came against him with an army of twenty thowsand footemen, & a thowsand horsemen, led by *Aristomachus*: *Cleomenes* met with them by the city of PALANTIVM, and offred battell. But *Aratus* quaking at the hardines of this young man, would not suffer *Aristomachus* to hazard battell, but went his way, derided by the ACHAIANS, and despised by the LACEDÆMONIANS: who in all were not above five thowsand fighting men. *Cleomenes* corage beeing now lift up, and bravely speaking to his citizens: he remembred them of a saying of one of their auncient kings, that the LACEDÆMONIANS never inquired what number their enemies were, but where they were. Shortly after, the ACHAIANS making warre with the ELIANS, *Cleomenes* was sent to ayde them, and met with the armie of the ACHAIANS by the mountaine Lyceum, as they were in their returne: he setting upon them, gave them the overthrowe, slue a great number of them, and tooke many also prisoners, that the rumor ranne through GRÆCE, how *Aratus* selfe was slaine. *Cleomenes* wisely taking the occasion which this victory gave him: he went straight to the citie of MANTINEA, and taking it upon a sodaine, when no man knew of his comming, he put a strong garrison into it. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS harts failing them, and resisting *Cleomenes* enterprises, overwearying them with warres: he went about to sende for *Archidamus*, king *Agis* brother, being

*Cleomenes
journey into
the contry of
the Argives.*

*The victorie
of Cleomenes
against Ara-
tus.*

*The saying of
the kings of
Lacedæmon
touching their
enemies.*

Archidamus
king *Agis*
brother
slaine.

then at MESSENA, unto whom the kingdom of right belonged by the other house, supposing that he should easily weaken the power of the Ephores, by the authoritie of the two kinges, if both of them joyned together. Which when the murtherers of king *Agis* understoode, being affraid that *Archidamus* returning from exile, he would be revenged of them: they secretly received him into the citie, and founde the meanes to bring him into SPARTA. But when they had him, they put him straight to death, whether it was unwitting to *Cleomenes* (as *Phylarchus* plainly testifieth) or else with his privitie, suffering them to make him away, by perswasion of his frends. But it is a cleere case, the citie was burdened withall, because probable matter fell out that they had compelled *Cleomenes* to doe it. Neverthelesse, he holding still his first determination, to alter the state of the common wealth of SPARTA, as soone as he could possible: he so fed the Ephores with money, that he brought them to be contented he should make warre. He had also won many other citizens by the meanes of his mother *Craiesiclea*, who furnisht him with money, that he lacked not to honor him withall: and further, married as it is reported, (being otherwise not ment to marry) for her sonnes sake, unto one of the wealthiest men of all the citie. So *Cleomenes* leading his army into the field, wanne a place within the territorie of MEGALOPOLIS, called LEVCTRA. The ACHAÏANS also being quickly come to their aide, led by *Aratus*: they straight fought a battell by the citie selfe, where *Cleomenes* had the worst on the one side of his armie. Howbeit *Aratus* woulde not suffer the ACHAÏANS to follow them, because of bogges & quauemyres, but sounded the retreat. But *Lysidas* a MEGALOPOLITAN being angrie withall, caused the horsemen he had about him to follow the chase, who pursued so fiercely, that they came amongst vines, walls, and ditches, where

he was driven to disperse his men, and yet could not get out. *Cleomenes* perceiving it, sent the light horsemen of the TARENTINS and CRETANS against him: of whom *Lysidas* valliantly fighting was slaine. Then the LACED-
ÆMONIANS being couragious for this victorie, came with great cries, and geving a fierce charge apon the ACHAIANS, overthrew their whole armie, & slue a marvelous number of them: but yet *Cleomenes* at their request suffered them to take up the dead bodies of their men to burie them. For *Lysidas* corps, he caused it to be brought unto him, & putting a purple robe apon it, and a crowne on his head, sent it in this aray unto the very gates of the city of MEGALOPOLIS. It was that selfe *Lysidas*, who geving over the tyranny and government of MEGALOPOLIS, made it a popular state, and free city, and joyned it to the ACHAIANS. After this victorie, *Cleomenes* that determined greater matters & attempts, perswaded him selfe that if he might once come to stablishe the affaires of the common wealth at SPARTA to his mind, he might then easely overcome the ACHAIANS: brake with his father in law *Megistonus*, and told him that it was necessary to take away the authoritie of the Ephores, and to make division of the landes among the SPARTANS, and then being brought to equalitie, to encorage them to recover the Empire of GRÆCE againe unto the LACED-ÆMONIANS, which their predecessors before them, held and enjoyed. *Megistonus* graunting his good will and furtherance, joyned two or three of his frendes more unto him. It chaunced at that time that one of the Ephores lying in the temple of *Pasiphaë*, had a marvelous dreame in the night. For he thought he sawe but one chaire standing where the Ephori did use to sit to geve audience, and that the other foure which were wont to be there, were taken away: and that marvelling at it, he heard a voyce out of the temple that said, that was the

Lysidas
slaine.

Cleomenes
victorie of
the Acha-
ians.

Lysidas, ty-
ranne of Me-
galopolis,
gave over his
tyrannie, and
made it a
popular
state.

The dreame
of one of the
Ephores.

best for SPARTA. He declaring this dreame the next morning unto *Cleomenes*, it somewhat troubled him at the first, thinking that he came to feele him, for that he had heard some inckling of his intent. But when he perswaded him selfe that the other ment good faith, and lyed not unto him, being bolder then before, he went forward with his purpose, and taking with him unto the campe all those SPARTANS which he suspected to be against his enterprise, he went and tooke the cities of HERÆA and ALSEA, confederats of the ACHAIA NS, and vitted ORCHOMENA, and went and camped before the citie of MANTINEA. In fine, he so wearied and overharried the LACEDÆMONIANS by long jorneyes, that at length they besought him he would let them remaine in ARCADIA, to repose them selves there. In the meane time, *Cleomenes* with his straungers which he had hyred, returned againe unto SPARTA, and imparted his intent by the way unto them he trusted best, and marched at his owne ease, that he might take the Ephores at supper. When he came neere unto the city, he sent *Euryclidas* before, into the halle of the Ephores, as though he brought them newes out of the campe from him. After him, he sent also *Thericion* and *Phæbis*, and two other that had bene brought up with him, whom the LACEDÆMONIANS called the SAMOTHRACIANS, taking with them a fewe souldiers. Nowe whilest *Euryclidas* was talking with the Ephores, they also came in upon them with their swordes drawen, and did set upon the Ephores. *Agésilæus* was hurt first of all, & falling downe, made as though he had bene slaine, but by litle and litle he crept out of the halle, and got secretly into a chappell consecrated unto *Feare*, the which was wont ever to be kept shut, but then by chaunce was left open, when he was come in, he shut the dore fast to him. The other foure of the Ephores were slaine presently, & above tenne moe besides, which

*Cleomenes
slue the
Ephores.*

came to defende them. Furthermore, for them that sate still and sturred not, they killed not a man of them, neither did keepe any man that was desirous to goe out of the citie: but moreover, they pardoned *Agesilaus*, who came the next morning out of the chappell of *Feare*. Amongest the LACEDÆMONIANS in the citie of SPARTA, there are not onely temples of feare and death, but also of laughter, & of many other such passions of the minde. They do worshippe *Feare*, not as other spirites & devills that are hurtfull: but bicause they are perswaded, that nothing preserveth a common wealth better then feare. Wherefore the Ephori (as *Aristotle* witnesseth) when they are created, doe by publicke proclamacion commaunde all the SPARTANS to shave their chinnes, and to obey the law, least they should make them feeble the rigour of the law. They brought in the shaving of their chinnes, in my opinion, to inure young men to obey the Magistrates even in trifles. Moreover it seemes that men in olde time did esteeme fortitude to be no taking away of feare, but rather a feare and lothnes to incurre shame. For commonly those that are most affrayed to offend the law, are in the field most valliant against their enemy: & shunne no perill to winne fame & honest reputacion. And therefore it was wisely sayd of one,

Divers temples at Sparta, of feare, death, and such other fancies.

The valliantest men are most affrayed to offend the law.

That feare can not be without shamefastnes.

And so *Homer* in a certaine place made *Hellen* say unto king *Priamus*:

*Of trueth I doe confesse deere father in law,
You are the man of whom I stand in aw,
And reverence most of all that ere I saw.*

And in an other place, speaking of the GRÆCIAN souldiers, he sayth thus:

For feare of their Captaines they spake not a word.

*The chappell
of feare, joy-
ned to the
halle of the
Ephores.*

*The oration
of king Cleo-
menes, touch-
ing the first
originall of
the Ephores.*

*Asteropus,
the first man
that gave
authority to
the Ephores.*

For men do use to reverence them whom they feare. And this was the cause why the chappell of *Feare* was by the halle of the Ephores, having in maner a princely & absolute authoritie. The next morning *Cleomenes* banished by trompet, foure score citizens of SPARTA, & overthrew all the chaires of the Ephores but one only, the which he reserved for him selfe to sit in to geve audience. Then calling the people to counsell, he gave them an account of his doings, and told them that *Lycurgus* had joyned the Senators with the kings, and how the citie had bene governed a long time by them, without helpe of any other officers. Notwithstanding, afterwards the city having great warres with the MESSENIANS, the kings being alwaies employed in that warre, whereby they could not attend the affaires of the common wealth at home, did choose certaine of their frendes to sitte in judgement in their steades, to determine controversies of lawe: which were called Ephores, and did governe long time as the kinges ministers, howbeit that afterwards, by litle and litle, they tooke upon them absolute government by themselves. And for manifest prooffe hereof, you see that at this present time when the Ephori do send for the king, the first and second time, he refuseth to come, but the third time he riseth and goeth unto them. The first man that gave the Ephores this authoritie, was *Asteropus*, one of the Ephores many yeares after the first institucion of the kinges: and yet if they had governed discretely, peradventure they might have continued lenger. But they licentiously abusing their authoritie, by suppressing the lawfull Governors instituted of old time, taking upon them to banish some of their kings, and putting other of them also to death, without law and justice, and threatening others that desire to restore that noble and former blessed government unto SPARTA againe: all these things I say, are in no wise to be suffered any lenger. And there-

fore, if it had bene possible to have banished all these plagues of the common wealth out of SPARTA, brought from forreinenations: (I meane, pleasures, pastimes, money, dets, and usuries, and others yet more auncient, poverty and riches) he might then have esteemed him selfe the happiest king that ever was, if like a good Phisitian he had cured his contrie of that infection, without grieve or sorrow. But in that he was constrained to beginne with blood, he followed *Lycurgus* example: who being neither king nor other Magistrate, but a private citizen only, taking upon him the authoritie of the king, boldly came into the market place with force and armed men, and made king *Charilaus* that then raigned, so affrayed, that he was driven to take sanctuarie in one of the temples. But the king being a Prince of a noble nature, and loving the honor of his contrie: tooke parte with *Lycurgus*, adding to his advise and counsell, for the alteration of the state of the government of the common wealth, which he did confirme. Hereby then it appeareth, that *Lycurgus* saw it was a hard thing to alter the common wealth without force and feare: the which he notwithstanding had used with as great modestie and discretion, as might be possible, banishing them that were against the profit and wealth of LACEDÆMON, geving all the lands of the contrie also to be equally devided amongst them, and setting all men cleere that were in dette. And furthermore, that he would make a choyse and prooffe of the straungers, to make them free citizens of SPARTA, whom he knew to be honest men, thereby to defende their citie the better by force of armes: to thend that from henceforth we may no more see our contrie of LACONIA spoyled by the ÆTOLIANS and ILLYRIANS, for lacke of men to defende them selves against them. Then he beganne first him selfe to make all his goods common, and after him *Megistonus* his father in law, and consequently all his

*Cleomenes
reformeth
the state of
the common
wealth of
Lacedæmon.*

other frendes. Then he caused the lands also to be devid-
ed, and ordeined every banished man a part, whom he
him selfe had exiled, promising that he would receive
them againe into the city, when he had established all
things. So when he had replenished the number of the
citizens of SPARTA, with the choycest honest men their
neighbours: he made foure thowsand footemen well arm-
ed, and taught them to use their pykes with both handes,
in steade of their dartes with one hande, and to carie their
targets with a good strong handle, and not buckled with
a leather thong. Afterwardes he tooke order for the ed-
ucation of children, and to restore the auncient LACON-
IAN discipline againe: and did all these things in maner
by the helpe of *Sphærus* the Philosopher. Insomuch as he
quickely set up againe schoole houses for children, and
also brought them to the old order of dyet: and all, but a
very fewe, without compulsion were willing to fall to
their old institucion of life. Then bicause the name of one
king should not offend any man, he made his brother
Euclidas king with him. But this was the first time that
ever the two kings were of one house but then. Further-
more, understanding that the ACHAIANS and *Aratus*
were of opinion, that he durst not come out of LACED-
ÆMON, for feare to leave it in perill of revolting, bicause
of the late chaunge & alteracion in the common wealth:
he thought it an honorable attempt of him, to make his
enemies see the readines and good will of his armie.
Thereupon he invaded the territories of the MEGALOP-
OLITANS, and brought away a great praye and booty,
after he had done great hurt unto his enemies. Then hav-
ing taken certaine players and minstrells that came from
MESSINA, he sette up a stage within the enemies contrie,
made a game of 40. Minas for the victor, and sate a whole
day to looke upon them, for no pleasure he tooke in the
sight of it, but more to despite the enemies withall, in

*Cleomenes
invadeth the
borders of the
Megalopoli-
tans.*

making them see how much he was stronger then they, to make such a Mayegame in their owne contrie, in despite of them. For of all the armies otherwise of the GRÆCIANS, or kinges in all GRÆCE, there was no armie onely but his, that was without players, minstrells, fooles and jugglers: for his campe only was cleane of such rabble and foolerie, and all the young men fell to some exercise of their bodies, and the old men also to teache them. And if they chaunced to have any vacant time, then they would pleasauntly be one merie with an other, in geving some pretie fine mocke after the LACONIAN manner. And what profit they got by that kinde of exercise, we have written it at large in *Lycurgus* life. But of all these things, the king him selfe was their schoolemaister and example, shewing him selfe very temperate of life, and plaine without curiositie, no more then any private souldier of all his campe: the which were great helpes unto him in his enterprises he made in GRÆCE. For the GRÆCIANS having cause of sute and negociacion with other kings and Princes, did not wonder so much at their pompe and riches, as they did abhorre and detest their pride and insolencie: so disdainfully they would aunswere them that had to doe with them. But contrarily when they went unto *Cleomenes*, who was a king in name and deede as they were, finding no purple robes nor stately mantells, nor rich imbrodered beddes, nor a Prince to be spoken to but by messengers, gentlemen ushers, and supplications, and yet with great a doe: and seeing him also come plainly apparelled unto them, with a good countenaunce, and curteously aunswering the matters they came for: he thereby did marvelously win their harts and good wills, that when they returned home, they said he only was the worthy king, that came of the race of *Hercules*. Now for his dyet at his bord, that was very straight and LACONIAN like, keping only three bords: and if he chaunced to

King Cleomenes, the teacher and example of temperancy.

Cleomenes moderate dyet.

feast any Ambassadors or other his frendes that came to see him, he then added to two other bords, and besides, made his men to see that his fare should be amended, not with pastrie and conserves, but with more store of meate, and some better wyne then ordinarie. For he one day reprovèd one of his frendes, that bidding straungers to supper, he gave them nothing but blacke broth, and browne bread only, according to their LACONIAN maner. Nay, said he, we may not use straungers so hardly after our maner. The bord being taken up, an other litle table was brought with three feete, whereupon they set a bolle of copper full of wyne, and two silver cuppes of a pottell a peece, and certaine other fewe silver pottes besides: so every man dranke what they listed, and no man was forced to drinke more then he woulde. Furthermore, there was no sporte, nor any pleasaunt song, sounge, to make the companie merie, for it needed not. For *Cleomenes* selfe would entertaine them with some pretie questions, or pleasaunt tale: whereby, as his talke was not severe and without pleasure, so was it also pleasaunt without insolencie. For he was of opinion, that to winne men by gifts or money, as other kings and Princes did, was but base & cloynelike: but to seeke their good wills by curteous meanes, and pleasauntnes, and therewith to meane good faith, that he thought most fit and honorable for a Prince. For this was his minde, that there was no other difference betwext a frend and hyerling: but that the one is wonne with money, and the other with civility and good entertainment. The first therefore that received king *Cleomenes* into their citie, were the MANTINIANS, who opened him the gates in the night, and helping him to drive out the garrison of the ACHAIANS, they yeelded them selves unto him. But he referring them to the use and government of their owne lawes and libertie, departed from thence the same day, and went unto

*Cleomenes
curteous en-
tertainment
at his bord.*

the citie of TEGEA. Shortly after, he compassed about ARCADIA, and came unto PHERES in ARCADIA determining one of the two, either to geve the ACHAIANS battell, or to bring *Aratus* out of favor with the people, for that he had suffred him to spoyle and destroy their contry. *Hyperbatas* was at that time Generall of the ACHAIANS, but *Aratus* did beare all the sway & authoritie. Then the ACHAIANS comming into the field with all their people armed, and encamping by the citie of DYMES, neere unto the temple of *Hecatombæum*: *Cleomenes* going thither, laye betwext the citie of DYMES that was against him, and the campe of his enemies, which men thought a verie unwise parte of him. Howebeit valliantly provoking the ACHAIANS, he procured them to the battell, overthrew them, made them flie, and slue a great number in the field, and tooke many of them also prisoners. Departing from thence, he went and set upon the citie of LANGON, and drave the garrison of the ACHAIANS out of it, and restored the citie againe unto the ELIANS. The ACHAIANS being then in verie hard state, *Aratus* that of custome was wont to be their Generall, (or at the least once in two yeares) refused now to take the charge, notwithstanding the ACHAIANS did specially pray and intreate him: the which was an ill act of him, to let an other steere the rudder, in so daungerous a storme and tempest. Therefore the ACHAIANS sent Ambassadors unto *Cleomenes* to treat peace, unto whome it seemed he gave a verie sharpe aunswere. After that, he sent unto them, and willed them only to resigne the signiorie of GRÆCE unto him: and that for all other matters he would deale reasonably with them, and presently deliver them up their townes and prisoners againe, which he had taken of theirs. The ACHAIANS being glad of peace with these condicions, wrote unto *Cleomenes* that he shoulde come unto the citie of LERNA, where the dyet

Cleomenes leadeth his army against Aratus, and the Achaians.

The victory of Cleomenes against the Achaians.

and generall assemblie shoulde be kept to consult thereupon. It chaunced then that *Cleomenes* marching thither, being very hotte, dranke cold water, and fell of suche a bleeding withall, that his voyce was taken from him, and he almost stifled. Wherefore he sent the *ACHAIANS* their chieftest prisoners home againe, proroging the parlament till an other time, and returned backe to *LACEDÆMON*. It is supposed certainly, that this let of his comming to the dyet, was the onely cause of the utter destruction of *GRÆCE*: the which otherwise was in good way to have risen againe, and to have bene delivered from the present miseries, and extreame pride and covetousnes of the *MACEDONIANS*. For *Aratus*, either for that he trusted not *Cleomenes*, or for that he was affrayed of his power, or that he otherwise envied his honor and prosperitie, to see him risen to such incredible greatnes in so short a time, and thinking it also too great shame and dishonor to him, to suffer this young man in a moment to deprive him of his great honor and power which he had possessed so long time, by the space of thirtie yeares together, ruling all *GRÆCE*: first, he sought by force to terrifie the *ACHAIANS*, and to make them breake of from this peace. But in fine, finding that they litle regarded his threats, and that he could not prevaile with them, for that they were affrayed of *Cleomenes* valliantnesse & corage, whose request they thought reasonable, for that he sought but to restore *PELOPONNESVS* into her former auncient estate againe: he fell then into a practise farre unhonest for a *GRÆCIAN*, verie infamous for him selfe, but most dishonorable for the former noble acts he had done. For he brought *Antigonus* into *GRÆCE*, & in his age filled the contrie of *PELOPONNESVS* with *MACEDONIANS*, whom he himselfe in his youth had driven thence, had taken from them the castell of *CORINTHE*, & had alwayes bene an enemy of the kinges (but specially of *Antigonus*, of

Aratus treason to his contrie.

whom before he had spoken all the ill he coulde, as appeareth in his wrytings, saying that he tooke marvelous paines, and did put him selfe into many daungers, to deliver the city of *ATHENS* from the garrison of the *MACEDONIANS*) & yet notwithstanding he brought them armed with his owne hands, not into his contrie only, but into his owne house, yea even into the Ladies chambers and closets: disdaining that the king of *LACEDÆMON*, discending of the blood royall of *Hercules* (who setting up againe the auncient maner of life of his contrie, did temper it as an instrument of musicke out of tune, and brought it to the good, auncient and sober discipline and *DORICAN* life instituted by *Lycurgus*) should be called and wrytten, king of the *SICYONIANS*, and of the *TRICÆIANS*. And furthermore, flying them that were contented with browne bread, and with the plaine course capes of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, and that went about to take awaye riches (which was the chiefeſt matter they did accuse *Cleomenes* for) and to provide for the poore: he went and put him selfe and all *ACHAIA* unto the crowne and diadeame, the purple robe, and prowde imperious commaundementes of the *MACEDONIANS*, fearing least men should thinke that *Cleomenes* coulde commaunde him. Furthermore his follie was such, that having garlands of flowers on his head, he did sacrifice unto *Antigonus*, and sing songs in praise of his honor, as if he had bene a god, where he was but a rotten man, consumed away. This that we have wrytten of *Aratus* (who was indued with many noble vertues, and a worthy *GRÆCIAN*) is not so much to accuse him, as to make us see the frayelty and weakenes of mans nature: the which, though it have never so excellent vertues, can not yet bring forth such perfit frute, but that it hath ever some mayme and blemishe. Now, when the *ACHAIANS* were met againe in the citie of *ARGOS*, to hold the session of their parlam-

ent before proroged, & *Cleomenes* also being come from TEGEA, to be at that parliament: everie man was in hope of good peace. But *Aratus* then, who was agreed before of the chiefeſt articles of the capitulations with *Antigonus*, fearing that *Cleomenes* by fayre words or force would bring the people to graunt that he deſired: ſent to let him underſtand, that he ſhould but come him ſelfe alone into the citie, and for ſafetie of his perſon, they would geve him three hundred oſtages: or otherwiſe, if he would not leave his armie, that then they would geve him audience without the citie, in the place of exerciſes, called Cyllarabium. When *Cleomenes* had heard their aunſwere, he told them that they had done him wrong: for they ſhould have advertiſed him of it before he had taken his journey, and not now when he was almoſt hard at their gates, to ſende him backe againe, with a flea in his eare. Thereuppon he wrote a letter unto the counſell of the ACHAIA NS, altogether full of complaintes againſt *Aratus*. On thother ſide alſo, *Aratus* in his oration to the counſell, inveyed with bitter wordes againſt *Cleomenes*. Thereuppon *Cleomenes* departing with ſpeede, ſent a Herald to proclaime warres againſt the ACHAIA NS, not in the city of ARGOS, but in the city of ÆGION, as *Aratus* wryteth, meaning to ſet apon them being unprovided. Hereuppon all ACHAIA was in an uprore: for divers citieſ did preſently revolt againſt the ACHAIA NS, bicauſe the common people hoped after the diſiſion of lands, and the diſcharging of their dettes. The noble men alſo in many places were offended with *Aratus*, bicauſe he practiſed to bring the MACEDONIA NS into the contrie of PELOPONNESVS. *Cleomenes* therefore hoping well for all theſe reſpectes, brought his armie into ACHAIA, and at his firſt comming tooke the citie of PALLENA, and drave out the garrifon of the ACHAIA NS: and after that, wanne alſo the citieſ of PHENEVM, and PENTELIVM.

Now the ACHAÏANS fearing some treason in CORINTHE and SYCIONE, sent certaine horsemen out of the citie of ARGOS, to keepe those cities. The ARGIVES in the meane time, attending the celebracion of the feast at the games Nemeea, *Cleomenes* thinking (which fell out true) that if he went to ARGOS, he should finde the citie full of people that were come to see the feastes and games, and that assailing them uppon the sodaine, he shoulde put them in a marvelous feare: brought his armie in the night hard to the walls of the citie of ARGOS, and at his first coming wanne a place they call Aspis, a verie strong place above the Theater, and ill to come unto. The ARGIVES were so amazed at it, that no man would take apon him to defende the citie, but received *Cleomenes* garrison, and gave him twentie ostages, promising thenceforth to be true confederates unto the LACEDÆMONIANS, under his charge and conduct. The which doubtles wanne him great fame, & increased his power: for that the auncient kings of LACEDÆMON, could never before with any policie or devise, winne the citie of ARGOS. For king *Pyrrhus* one of the most valliantest and warlikest Prince that ever was, entring the citie of ARGOS by force, could not keepe it, but was slaine there, and the most parte of his armie: wherby, every man wondred greatly at the diligence and counsell of *Cleomenes*. And where every man did mocke him before, when *Cleomenes* sayd that he would follow *Solon*, and *Lycurgus*, in making the citizens goods common, and discharging all dets: they were then clerely perswaded that he onely was the cause and meane of that great chaunge, which they sawe in the corage of the SPARTANS: who were before so weake and out of hart, that they having no corage to defend them selves, the ÆTOLIANS entring LACONIA, with an armie, tooke away at one time, fiftie thowsand slaves. Whereuppon an old man of SPARTA pleasauntly sayd at that time, that

*Cleomenes
winneeth the
citie of Ar-
gos.*

*King Pyrr-
hus slaine at
the citie of
Argos.*

*The force of
Lycurgus
lawes.*

their enemies had done them a great pleasure, to ridde their contrie of LACONIA of suche a rabble of rascalls. Shortly after, they being entred againe into the former auncient discipline of *Lycurgus*, as if *Lycurgus* selfe had bene alive to have trained them unto it: they shewed them selves verie valliant, and obedient also unto their Magistrates, whereby they recovered againe the commaundement of all GRÆCE, and the contrie also of PELOPONNESVS. After *Cleomenes* had taken the citie of ARGOS, the cities also of CLEONES, and PHLIVNTA, did yeelde them selves unto him. *Aratus* in the meane time remayned at CORINTHE, & there did busily accuse them which were suspected to favor the LACEDÆMONIANS. But when newes was brought him that ARGOS was taken, and that he perceived also the citie of CORINTHE did leane unto *Cleomenes* parte, and drave away the ACHA-IANS: he then calling the people to counsell in CORINTHE, secretly stole to one of the gates of the citie, and causing his horse to be brought unto him, tooke his backe, and galloped for life unto the citie of SICYONE. When the CORINTHIANS heard of it, they tooke their horsebackes also, striving who shoulde be there soonest, and posted in suche hast unto *Cleomenes* at the citie of ARGOS, that many of them (as *Aratus* wryteth) killed their horses by the waye: howbeit *Cleomenes* was verie muche offended with them, for that they had let him scape their handes. But *Aratus* sayth further, that *Megistonus* came unto him from *Cleomenes*, and offered him a great summe of money to deliver him the castell of CORINTHE, wherein there was a great garrison of the ACHA-IANS. But he answered againe, that thinges were not in his power, but rather that he was subject to their power. Now *Cleomenes* departing from the city of ARGOS, overcame the TROEZENIANS, the EPIDAVRIANS, and the HERMION-IANS. After that, he came unto CORINTHE, and present-

lie entrenched the castell there rounde about, and send-
 inge for *Aratus* frendes and factors, commaunded them
 to keepe his house and goodes carefullie for him, and
 sent *Tritymallus* MESSENIAN againe unto him, to praye
 him to be contented that the castell might be kept indif-
 ferentlie betwext the ACHAIANS & LACEDÆMONIANS,
 promisinge him privately to double the pencion that
 kinge *Ptolomy* gave him. But *Aratus* refusinge it, sent
 his sonne unto *Antigonus* with other ostages, and per-
 swaded the ACHAIANS to deliver uppe the castell of COR-
 INTHE, unto *Antigonus* handes. *Cleomenes* understand-
 inge it, entred with his armie into the contrie of the SICY-
 ONIANS, and destroyed it as he went, and tooke *Aratus*
 goodes and money, of the gift of the CORINTHIANS by
 decree. Nowe *Antigonus* in the meane tyme, beinge pass-
 ed the mountayne of Gerania with a greate power: *Cle-*
omenes determined not to fortifie the Isthmus or straight
 of PELOPONNESVS, but the wayes of the mountaynes
 Onienes, determininge to keepe everie one of them a-
 gainst the MACEDONIANS, with intent to consume them
 rather by tyme, then to fight a battell with an armie, so
 good souldiers and well trayned as they were. *Cleomenes*
 followinge this determination, did putte *Antigonus* to
 greate trouble, bicause he had not in time provided for
 corne: and coulde not winne the passage also by force,
 for that *Cleomenes* kept it with suche garde and souldiers.
 Then *Antigonus* stealinge secretly into the haven of LEC-
 HÆVM, he was stowtly repulsed, & lost a number of his
 men: whereuppon *Cleomenes* and his men beinge cour-
 agious for this victorie, went quietly to supper. *Antig-*
onus on thother side fell into dispaire, to see him selfe
 brought by necessitie into suche harde termes. Where-
 fore he determined to goe to the temple of *Juno*, and
 from thence to passe his armie by sea into the citie of
 SICYONE, the which required a longe tyme, and greate

*The Argives
doe rebell a-
gainst Cleo-
menes.*

preparacion. But the same night there came some of *Aratus* frendes of the ARGIVES, who comminge from ARGOS by sea, brought newes that the ARGIVES were rebelled against *Cleomenes*. The practiser of this rebellion, was one *Aristoteles*, who easelie brought the people unto it, that were alreadye offended with *Cleomenes*, that had promised to passe a lawe for the clearing of dettes, but performed it not accordinge to their expectacion. Wherefore, *Aratus* with a thowsande five hundred men which *Antigonus* gave him, went by sea unto EPIDAVRUM. Howbeit *Aristoteles* taried not his comminge, but takinge them of the citie with him, went and besieged the garison of the LACEDÆMONIANS within the castell, beinge ayded by *Timoxenus*, with the ACHAIANS that came from SICYONE. *Cleomenes* receivinge advertisement hereof, about the seconde watche of the night, sent for *Megistonus* in haste, and commaunded him in anger speedilie to goe and ayde their men that were in the citie of ARGOS. For it was *Megistonus* him selfe that promised *Cleomenes* the fidelitie of the ARGIVES, and that kept him from drivinge them out of the citie, which he suspected. So sendinge him away forthwith with two thowsande men, he attended *Antigonus*, and comforted the CORINTHIANS the best he coude: advertisinge them that it was but a litle mutinie of a fewe, that chaunced in the citie of ARGOS. *Megistonus* beinge come to ARGOS, and slayne in battell, fightinge for the LACEDÆMONIANS in garrison there (who beinge in greate distresse, scant able to keepe the castell against the enemies) sent sundrie messengers unto *Cleomenes*, to praye him to sende them immediate ayde. *Cleomenes* then beinge affrayed that the enemies havinge taken ARGOS, woulde stoppe his way to returne backe into his contrie, who havinge oportunitie safelie to spoyle LACONIA, and also to besiege the citie selfe of SPARTA, that had but a fewe men to defende it: he de-

parted with his armie from CORINTHE. Immediatly after came *Antigonus*, and tooke it from him, and put a stronge garrison into it. When *Cleomenes* came before the citie of ARGOS, he scaled the walles, and breakinge the vawtes and arches of the place called Aspis, entred into the citie, and joyned with his garrison there, which yet resisted the ACHAIANS: and takinge other partes of the same also, assaulted the walles, & cleared the streetes in suche sorte, that not an enemie durst be seene, for feare of the archers of the CRETANS. In the meane time, when he sawe *Antigonus* a farre of, comminge downe the hilles into the valley with his footemen, and that his horsemen also came apon the spurre into the citie: dispayringe then that he coulde any lenger keepe it, he gathered all his men together, and safelie goinge downe by the walles retyred without losse of any man. So, when in shorte tyme he had conquered muche, and had almost wonne all within PELOPONNESVS: in shorter space also, he lost all againe. For, of the confederates that were in his campe, some did presentlie forsake him: others also immediatly after surrendered up the townes unto *Antigonus*. *Cleomenes* beinge thus oppressed with the fortune of warre, when he came backe to TEGEA with the rest of his armie, newes came to him in the night from LACEDÆMON, which grieved him as muche as the losse of all his conquestes: for he was advertised of the death of his wife *Agiatis*, whome he loved so dearelie, that in the midst of his chiefeest prosperitie and victories, he made often jorneyes to SPARTA to see her. It coulde not but be a marvelous grieffe unto *Cleomenes*, who beinge a younge man, had loste so vertuous and fayer a younge Ladie, so dearelie beloved of him: and yet he gave not place unto his sorrowe, neither did grieffe overcome his noble courage, but he used the selfe same voyce, apparell, & countenance, that he did before. Then taking order with his

*Cleomenes
lost the citie
of Corinthe.*

*Cleomenes
lost the citie
of Argos.*

*The death of
Agiatis,
king Cleom-
enes wife.*

private Captaines, about his affayres, and havinge provided also for the safetie of the TEGEANS: he went the next morninge by breake of daye unto SPARTA. After he had privately lamented the sorrowe of his wives death, with his mother & children: he presentlie bent his minde againe to publike causes. Nowe *Cleomenes* had sent unto *Ptolomy* kinge of ÆGYPT, who had promised him ayde, but apon demaunde, to have his mother and children in pledge. So he was a longe tyme before he woulde for shame make his mother privie unto it, and went oftentimes of purpose to lette her understande it: but when he came, he had not the harte to breake it to her. She first suspectinge a thinge, asked *Cleomenes* frendes, if her sonne had not somewhat to saye unto her, that he durst not utter. Whereuppon, in fine he gave the venter, and brake the matter to her. When she hearde it, she fell a laughinge, and tolde him: why, howe commeth it to passe, that thou hast kept it thus long, and wouldest not tell me? Come, come, sayed she, put me straight into a shippe, and sende me whither thou wilt, that this bodie of myne may doe some good unto my contrie, before crooked age consume my life without profitte. Then all thinges beinge prepared for their journey, they went by lande, accompanied with the armie, unto the heade of Tænarus. Where *Cratesiclea* beinge readie to imbarke, she tooke *Cleomenes* aside into the temple of *Neptune*, and imbracinge and kissinge him, perceivinge that his harte yerned for sorowe of her departure, she sayed unto him: O kinge of LACEDÆMON, lette no man see for shame when we come out of the temple, that we have wept and dishonored SPARTA. For that onely is in our power, and for the rest, as it pleaseth the goddes, so lette it be. When she had spoken these wordes, and facioned her countenance againe: she went then to take her shippe, with a litle sonne of *Cleomenes*, and commaunded the maister

*The noble
minde of
Cratesiclea,
Cleomenes
mother.*

*Cleomenes
sendeth his
mother and
children host-
ages unto
Ptolomy
kinge of
Ægypt.*

of the shippe to hoys sayle. Nowe when she was arrived in ÆGYPT, and understoode that kinge *Ptolomy* received Ambassadors from *Antigonus*, & were in talke to make peace with him: and hearinge also that *Cleomenes* beinge requested by the ACHAIANS to make peace with them, durst not hearken to it, and ende that warre, without king *Ptolomyes* consent, and bicause of his mother: she wrote unto him, that he shoulde not spare to doe any thinge that shoulde be expedient for the honour of SPARTA, without feare of displeasing *Ptolomy*, or for regarde of an olde woman, and a younge boye. Suche was the noble minde of this worthie Ladie in her sonne *Cleomenes* adversitie. Furthermore, *Antigonus* having taken the citie of TEGEA, & sacked the other cities of ORCHOMENVM, & MANTINEA: *Cleomenes* seeinge him selfe brought to defende the borders onely of LACONIA, he did manumise all the ILOTES, (which were the slaves of LACEDÆMON) payinge five Attica Minas a man. With that money he made the summe of five hundred talentes, & armed two thowsande of these freed slaves after the MACEDONIAN facion to fight against the LEVCASPIDES: (to witte, the white shieldes of *Antigonus*) and then there fell into his minde a marvelous greate enterprise, unlooked for of every man. The citie of MEGALIPOLIS at that time being as great as SPARTA, & having the aide of the ACHAIANS, and *Antigonus* at hand, (whom the ACHAIANS as it seemed had brought in, chiefly at the request of the MEGALOPOLITANS) *Cleomenes* determininge to sacke this citie, and knowing that to bring it to passe, nothing was more requisite then celeritie: he commaunded his souldiers to vittell them selves for five dayes, and marching with the choyce of all his armie towards SELASIA, as though he had ment to have spoyled the ARGIVES, sodainly turning from thence, he invaded the contrie of the MEGALOPOLITANS, and supping by ROETIVM, went

*Cleomenes
wanne the
citie of Me-
galipolis.*

straight by ELICYNTA unto the citie. When he was come neere unto it, he sent *Panteas* before with speede, with two bandes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and commaunded him to take a certeine pece of the wall betwene two towers, which he knewe was not kept nor garded: and he followed him also with the rest of his armie comming on fayer and softly. When *Panteas* came thither, finding not onely that place of the wall without gard or watche which *Cleomenes* had told him of, but also the most parte of that side without defence: he tooke some parte of the wall at his first comming, and manned it, and overthrew an other peece of it also, putting them all to the sword that did defend it, and then came *Cleomenes*, and was within the citie with his armie, before the MEGALOPOLITANS knewe of his comming. At length, the citizens understanding that the citie was taken, some fled in hast, conveying suche light things as came to hande, in so great a feare: and the others also arming them selves, ranne together to resist the enemies. But though they valliantly fought to repulse them out of the citie, and yet prevayled not: they gave the rest leisure thereby to flye and save them selves, so that there remayned not behinde, above a thousand men. For all the rest were fled with their wives and children, into the citie of MESSENA. The most parte of them also that fought with the enemies, saved themselves, and verie fewe were taken, the chiefeſt whereof, were *Lysandridas*, and *Thearidas*, the nobleſt persons that were amongst the MEGALOPOLITANS: wherefore when the souldiers had taken them, they brought them unto *Cleomenes*. *Lysandridas*, when he saw *Cleomenes* a good way of, cried out alowde unto him: O king of LACEDÆMON, this day thou hast an occasion offered thee to doe a more famous princely acte, then that which thou hast alreadie done, and that will make thy name also more glorious. *Cleomenes* musing what he woulde request: well (quod

he) what is that thou requirest? One thing I will tell thee before hande, thou shalt not make me restore your citie to you againe. Yet, quod *Lysandridas*, lette me request thus muche then, that ye doe not destroy it, but rather replenishe it with frendes and confederates, which hereafter will be true and faithfull to you: and that shall you doe, geving the MEGALOPOLITANS their citie againe, & preserving suche a number of people as have forsaken it. *Cleomenes* pawsing a while, aunswered, it was a hard thing to beleve that: but yet quod he, let honor take place with us, before profit. After that he sent a Heraulde straight unto MESSENA unto them that were fledde thither, and tolde them that he was contented to offer them their citie againe, so that they would become good frendes & confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS, forsaking the alliance of the ACHAIANS. *Philopæmen* would by no meanes suffer the MEGALOPOLITANS to accept this gracious offer of *Cleomenes*, nor also to leave their alliance with the ACHAIANS: telling them, that he ment not to geve them their citie againe, but to take them also with their citie: & therefore drave *Thearidas* and *Lysandridas* out of MESSENA, that moved this practise. It was that *Philopæmen* that afterwarde was the chiefest man of the ACHAIANS, and that wanne suche fame and honor among the GRÆCIANS, as we have particularly declared in his life. This worde being brought to *Cleomenes*, who had kept the city from spoyling untill that time: he was then so thorowly offended, that he gave the goods in praye to the souldiers, sent away their goodly tables, images, & pictures unto SPARTA, and defaced the chiefest partes of the citie, and then returned home againe, being affrayed of *Antigonus*, and the ACHAIANS. Howebeit they sturred not, bicause of the parliament that was kept at that time in the citie of ÆGIVM, where *Aratus* being in the pulpit for orations, and holding his gowne a long time before

Cleomenes
noble saying.

Cleomenes
raised the citie
of Megalip-
olis.

his face, the people marvelling at it, willed him to tell what he ayled: he answered them, MEGALIPOLIS is taken, and rased by *Cleomenes*. The ACHAIANS being amazed at the sodainnes of this great losse, straight brake of their parlament & assembleie. But *Antigonus* thinking to ayde them, sent presently for all his garrisons, who being long a comming, he willed them to stay where they were, and he him selfe taking a fewe souldiers with him, went unto the citie of ARGOS. Therefore the seconde enterprise of *Cleomenes*, seemeth at the first sight a verie rashe and desperate attempt: howbeit *Polybius* wryteth, that it was an attempt of greate wisdom and policie. For *Cleomenes* understanding that the MACEDONIANS were dispersed in garrisons in divers places, and that *Antigonus* lay all the winter in the citie of ARGOS, with a certeyne number of footemen that were straungers: he invaded the contrie of the ARGIVES with his armie, perswading him selfe, that either *Antigonus* woulde for shame come and fight with him, or if he did not, that then he shoulde put him in disgrace with the ARGIVES: which in deede came so to passe. The ARGIVES seeinge their contrie spoyled by *Cleomenes*, were in a marvelous rage, & gatheringe together at *Antigonus* lodginge, they cryed out unto him, either to goe into the fielde, and fight with the enemye: or else if he were affrayed, to resigne his office of Generall of GRÆCE, unto others that were vallianter than him selfe. But *Antigonus* like a wise and excellent Captayne, thinkinge it a dishonour to him rashely to put him selfe in daunger, & his frendes also, though he were provoked with many injuries and opprobrious wordes: woulde not goe into the fielde, but stooode constant in his first determination. Then *Cleomenes* having brought his armie hard to the walles of the citie of ARGOS, & spoyled and destroyed the contrie rounde about: without lette or daunger he safely returned home againe. Within a while

*Cleomenes
stratageame.*

*A wise Cap-
taine should
not rashly
put him selfe
in hazard.*

after, *Cleomenes* being advertised that *Antigonus* was come unto *TEGEA*, with intent to invade the contrie of *LACONIA*: he goinge an other way with his armie, (unwitting to his enemies) they wondered when they saw him in the morning by the citie of *ARGOS*, spoylinge their contrie, and cuttinge downe their corne, not with sickles and knyves as other doe use, but with long poles in forme of Sythes, that the souldiers as they went sportingewise, did overthrowe and spoyle it. But when they came to the place of exercises in the suburbes, called *Cyllabaris*, certaine of the souldiers goinge about to have sette it afire, *Cleomenes* woulde not suffer them, and tolde them, that *The moderation of Cleomenes to his enemies.* what he had done at *MEGALIPOLIS*, it was rather angrily then honestlie done. Now *Antigonus*, presently returninge backe againe, beinge minded first to have gone directly to the citie of *ARGOS*, but sodainely alteringe his minde, did campe upon the toppe of hilles and mountaynes. *Cleomenes* seeminge not to be affrayed of him, sent Herauldes to him to desire the keyes of the temple of *Juno*, and then after he had done sacrifice, he woulde departe his waye. Thus mockinge *Antigonus*, after he had sacrificed unto the goddess, under the temple that was shut up, he sent his armie unto *PHLIVNTA*, and havinge driven awaye the garrison out of *OLOGVNTA*, he came unto the citie of *ORCHOMENVM*, havinge not onely encouraged his citizens, but gotten even amongst the enemies them selves, a fame also to be a noble Captaine, and worthie to manage greate affaires. For everie man judged him to be a skillfull souldier, and a valliant Captaine, that with the power of one onely citie, did mainteine warre against the kingdom of *MACEDON*, against all the people of *PELOPONNESVS*, & against the treasure of so greate a king: and withall, not onely to keepe his owne contrie of *LACONIA* unsoyled, but farre otherwise to hurte his enemies contries, and to take so many greate

*Money, the
sinewe of
warres.*

cities of theirs. But he that sayed first, that money was the sinewe of all thinges, spake it chiefly in my opinion, in respect of the warres. *Demades* the Orator sayed on a time, when the *ATHENIANS* commaunded certaine gallies shoulde be put out of the arsenall into the sea, and presently rigged & armed with all possible speed, though they lacked money: he that rules the prow, must first see before him. Meaning, munition and vittells must be provided, before the shippes be sette out. And it is reported

*The saying of
Archidamus.*

also, that the auncient *Archidamus*, when the confederates of the *LACEDÆMONIANS* at the beginninge of the warre of *PELOPONNESVS* required, that they might be sessed at a certeyne rate, aunswered: the charges of warre have no certheyne stinte. For like as wrestlers that exercise their bodies continuallie in games, are better able to wrestle, and overthrowe them with tyme, that have no strength, but onely arte and slight: even so Kinge *Antigonus*,

*Cleomenes
overcomen by
Antigonus,
for lacke of
money to pay
his souldiers.*

who by the greatnesse of his kingdome did defraye the charge of this warre, did wearie and overcome *Cleomenes* at the length, bicause he lacked money bothe to paye the straungers that served him, and also to mayntayne his owne citizens. For otherwise, doubtlesse the time served his turne well, bicause the troubles that fell apon *Antigonus* in his realme, did make him to be sent for home. For the barbarous people his neighbours, in his absence did spoyle and destroye the realme of *MACEDON*, and speciallie the *ILLYRIANS* of the high contrie that came downe then with a greate armie: whereupon, the *MACEDONIANS* being spoyled & harried on all sides by them, they sent poste unto *Antigonus*, to pray him to come home. If these letters had bene brought him but a litle before the battell, as they came afterwarde: *Antigonus* had gone his waye, and left the *ACHAIANS*. But fortune, that alwayes striketh the stroke in all weightiest causes, gave suche speede and favour unto time: that

*The power of
fortune.*

immediatly after the battell was fought at SELASIA, (where *Battell between Cleomenes and Antigonus at Selasia.* *Cleomenes* lost his armie and citie) the verie messengers arrived that came for *Antigonus* to come home, the which made the overthrowe of king *Cleomenes* so much more lamentable. For if he had delayed battell but two dayes lenger, when the MACEDONIANS had bene gone, he might have made what peace he would with the ACHAIANS: but for lacke of money, he was driven (as *Polybius* wryteth) to geve battell, with twentie thowsande men, against thirtie thowsande: where he shewed him selfe an excellent and skilfull Captaine, and where his citizens also fought like valliant men, and the straungers in like case did shewe them selves good souldiers. But his onely overthrowe was, by the manner of his enemies weapons, and the force of their battell of footemen. But *Phylarchus* wryteth, that treason was the cause of his overthrowe. For *Antigonus* had appointed the ACARNANIANS, and the ILLYRIANS which he had in his armie, to steale uppon the winge of his enemies armie, where *Euclidas*, king *Cleomenes* brother was, to compasse him in behinde, whilest he did sette the rest of his men in battell. When *Cleomenes* was got up upon some hill to looke about him, to see the countenance of the enemye, and seeing none of the ACARNANIANS, nor of the ILLYRIANS: he was then affrayed of *Antigonus*, that he went about some stratageame of warre. Wherefore he called for *Demoteles*, whose charge was to take heede of stratageames and secret ambushes, and commaunded him to looke to the rerewarde of his armie, and to be verie circumspect all about. *Demoteles*, *The treason of Demoteles.* that was bribed before (as it is reported) with money, tolde him that all was cleere in the rerewarde, and bad him looke to overthrowe his enemies before him. *Cleomenes* trusting this reporte, sette forward against *Antigonus*, and in the ende, his citizens of SPARTA which he had about him, gave suche a fierce charge apon the squad-

*Cleomenes
overthrowen
by Anti-
gonus.*

ron of the MACEDONIAN footemen, that they drave them backe five furlonges of. But in the meane time, *Euclidas* his brother, in the other wing of his armie, being compassed in behinde, *Cleomenes* turning him backe, and seeing the overthrowe, cried out alowde: alas, good brother, thou art but slaine, yet thou dyest valliantlie, & honestlie, and thy death shall be a worthie example unto all posteritie, and shall be song by the praises of the women of SPARTA. So *Euclidas* and his men being slaine, the enemies came straight to sette upon *Cleomenes* winge. *Cleomenes* then seeing his men discouraged, and that they durst no longer resist the enemy, fledde, and saved him selfe. Many of the straungers also that served him, were slaine at this battell: and of sixe thowsande SPARTANS, there were left alive but onely two hundred. Now *Cleomenes* being returned unto SPARTA, the citizens comming to see him, he gave them counsell to yeeld them selves unto *Antigonus* the conqueror: and for him selfe, if either alive or dead he could do any thing for the honor and benefit of SPARTA, that he would willingly doe it. The women of the citie also, comming unto them that flying had escaped with him, when he saw them unarme the men, and bring them drinke to refresh them with: he also went home to his owne house. Then a maide of the house, which he had taken in the citie of MEGALIPOLIS (and whom he had entertained ever since the death of his wife) came unto him as her maner was, to refresh him comming hot from the battell: howbeit he would not drinke though he was extreame drie, nor sit being verie wearie, but armed as he was, layed his arme a crosse apon a pillar, and leaning his head apon it, reposed himselfe a litle, and casting in his minde all the wayes that were to be thought of, he tooke his frendes with him, and went to the haven of Gythium, and there having his shippes which he had appointed for the purpose, he hoysed sayle,

and departed his way. Immediately after his departure, *Antigonus* came *Antigonus* into the citie of SPARTA, and curteously *wanne the citie of Sparta.* intreated the citizens and inhabitants he found, and did offend no man, nor proudly despise the auncient honor

and dignitie of SPARTA: but referring them to their owne lawes and government, when he had sacrificed to the goddess for his victorie, he departed from thence the thirde daye, newes being brought him that the warre was verie great in MACEDON, and that the barbarous people did spoyle his contrie. Now a disease tooke him, whereof he

dyed afterwards, which appeared a tisticke, mixt with a sore catarre: but yet he yeelded not to his disease, and bare it out, that fighting for his contrie, and obteyning a famous victorie, with great slaughter of the barbarous people, he might yet dye honorably, as in deede he did, by *Phylarchus* testimonie, who sayth, that with the force

of his voyce, fiercely crying out in the midst of his fight, he tare his lunges and lightes, worse then they were before. Yet in the schooles it is sayd, that after he had wonne the battell, he was so joyfull of it, that crying out, O blessed day: he brake out into a great bleeding at the mouth, and a great fever tooke him withall, that he dyed of it. Thus much touching *Antigonus*. Now *Cleomenes* de-

parting out of the Isle of CYTHERA, went and cast anker *flieth out of Peloponnesus.* in an other Iland, called ÆGIALIA. Then determining to saile over to the citie of CYRENA, *Therycion*, one of *Cleo-*

menes frendes (a man that in warres shewed him selfe verie valliant, but a boaster besides of his owne doings)

tooke *Cleomenes* aside, & sayd thus unto him: "Truely O *The oration of Therycion, unto Cleomenes, against death.* king, we have lost an honorable occasion to dye in battell, though every man hath heard us vaunt and say, that *Antigonus* should never overcome the king of SPARTA alive, but dead. A seconde occasion yet is offered us to dye, with much lesse honor and fame notwithstanding,

then the first. Whether doe we saile to no purpose? Why

doe we flie the death at hand, and seeke it so farre of? If it be no shame nor dishonor for the posteritie and race of *Hercules* to serve the successors of *Philip & Alexander*: let us save then our labor, and long daungerous sailing, and goe yeelde our selves unto *Antigonus*, who in likely-hood will better use us then *Ptolomy*, bicause the MAC-EDONIANS are farre more nobler persons then the ÆGYPTIANS. And if we disdaine to be commaunded by them which have overcommen us in battell, why then will we make him Lord of us, that hath not overcome us: in steade of one, to make us inferior unto both, flying *Antigonus*, and serving king *Ptolomy*? Can we say that we goe into ÆGYPT, in respect to see your mother there? A joyfull sight no doubt, when she shall shew king *Ptolomyes* wives her sonne, that before was a king, a prisoner, and fugitive now. Were it not better for us, that having yet LACONIA our contrie in sight, and our swordes besides in our owne hands, to deliver us from this great miserie, and so doing to excuse our selves unto them that are slaine at SELASIA, for defence of SPARTA: then cowardly loosing our time in ÆGYPT, to inquire whom *Antigonus* left his Lieutenaunt and Governor in LACEDÆMON?" *Therycion* ending his oration, *Cleomenes* aunswered him thus: "Doeſt thou thinke it a glorie for thee to seeke death, which is the easiest matter, and the presentest unto any man, that can be: and yet, wretche that thou art: thou fliest now more cowardly & shamefully, then from the battell. For divers valliant men, and farre better then our selves, have often yeelded unto their enemies, either by some misfortune, or compelled by greater number & multitude of men: but he say I, that submitteth him selfe unto paine and miserie, reproache and praise of men, he can not but confesse that he is overcome by his owne unhappinesse. For, when a man will willingly kill him selfe, he must not doe it to be rid of paynes and labour, but it

*Cleomenes
oration of
death.*

*Willing
death, must
have honor-
able respect.*

must have an honorable respect and action. For, to live or dye for his owne respect, that can not but be dishonorable: the which now thou perswadeſt me unto, to make me flie this present miserie we are in, without any honor or profite in our death. And therefore, I am of opinion, that we shoulde not yet cast of the hope we have to serve out contrie in time to come: but when all hope fayleth us, then we may easely make our selves away when we list."

Thereunto *Therycion* gave no aunswere, but as soone as he founde oportunitie to slippe from *Cleomenes*, he went to the sea side, and slewe him selfe. *Cleomenes* hoysinge sayle from the Ile of *ÆGIALIA*, went into *AFRICKE*, and was brought by the kinges servauntes unto the citie of *ALEXANDRIA*. King *Ptolomy* at his first comming, gave *Cleomenes* no speciall good, but indifferent intertainment: but after that he had shewed him selfe to be of great wisdom and judgement, and that *Ptolomy* saw in the simplicity of his *LACONIAN* life he had also a noble disposition and corage, nothing degenerating from the princely race and blood of *Hercules*, and that he yelded not to his adversitie: he tooke more delight in his company, then in all the company of his flatterers and hangers on him: and then repented him greatly, that he had made no more account of him before, but had suffered him to be overthrowne by *Antigonus*, who through the victory of him, had marvelously enlarged his honor and power. Then he began to comfort *Cleomenes*, and doing him as great honor as could be, promised that he would send him with shippes and money into *GRÆCE*, and put him againe into his kingdom: and further, gave him an annuall pencion in the meane time, of foure and twenty talents, with the which he simply and soberly enterteyned him selfe, and his men about him: and bestowed all the rest upon his contry men that came out of *GRÆCE* into *ÆGYPT*. But now, old king *Ptolomy* deceasing before he

could performe the promise he made unto *Cleomenes*, to send him into GRÆCE: the Realme falling then into great lasciviousnes, dronckennes, and into the government of women, his case and miserie was cleane forgotten. For the young king his sonne was so given over to women and wine, that when he was most sober, and in his best witts, he most disposed him selfe to make feastes and sacrifices, and to have the taber playing in his Court, to gather people together, like a stage player or jugler, whilest one *Agathoclea* his lemman, and her mother, and *Oenantes* a bawde, did rule all the affayres of the state. But when he came to be king, it appeared he had neede of *Cleomenes*: bicause he was affraid of his brother *Magas*, who by his mothers meanes, was very wel esteemed of among souldiers. Wherefore he called *Cleomenes* to him, and made him of his privy counsel, where he devised by practise, which way to kill his brother. All other his friends that were of counsell with him, did counsell him to do it: but *Cleomenes* onely vehemently dissuaded him from it, and tolde him, that if it were possible, rather moe brethren should be begotten unto the king for the safetie of his person, and for deviding of the affayres of thekingdomebetweenethem. Amongestthekingesfamiliers that was chiefeſt about him, there was one *Sosibius* that said unto *Cleomenes*: so long as his brother *Magas* lived, the souldiers that be ſtraungers, whom the king entertayned, would never be true to him. *Cleomenes* answered him, for that matter there was no daunger: for sayth he, of those hiered ſtraungers, there are three thousand PELOPONNESIANS, which he knewe at the twinkling of an eye, would be at his commaundement, to come with their armor and weapon where he would appoynt them. These words of *Cleomenes* at that tyme shewed his fayth and good will he bare unto the king, and the force he was of besides. But afterwards, *Ptolomyes* fearefulnes increasing his mistrust: (as it commonly hapneth, that

they that lacke wit, thinke it the best safetie to be fearefull of every wagging of a strawe, and to mistrust every man) the remembrance of *Cleomenes* wordes made him much suspected of the Courtiers, understanding that he could doe so much with the souldiers that were straungers: in-somuch as some of them sayd, see (meaning *Cleomenes*) there is a lyon amongst sheepe. In deede, considering his facions and behavior, they might well say so of him: for he would looke thorough his fingers as though he saw nothing, and yet saw all what they did. In fine, he required an armie and ships of the king: and understanding also that *Antigonus* was dead, and that the ACHAIANS and ÆTOLIANS were at great warres together, and that the affaires of his contry did call him home, all PELOPONNESVS being in armes and uprore, he prayed that they would licence him to depart with his friends. But never a man would give eare unto him, and the king also heard nothing of it, bicause he was continually entertained among Ladies, with banckets, dauncing, and masks. But *Sosibius* that ruled all the Realme, thought that to keepe *Cleomenes* against his wil, were a hard thing, and also daungerous: and to let him goe also, knowing that he was a valiant man, and of a stirring minde, and one that knew the vices and imperfections of their government: he thought that also no safe way, sithe no giftes nor presents that could be offered him, could soften him. For as the holy bull (which they call in ÆGYPT *Apis*) that is fulfilled in goodly pasture, doth yet desire to followe his naturall course and libertie, to runne and leape at his pleasure, and plainely sheweth that it is a grieve to him to be kept stil by the Priest: even so the courtly pleasures did *Cleomenes* nothing delight *Cleomenes*, but as *Homer* writeth of *Achilles*:
illes:

*It irkt his noble hart to sit at home in slothfull rest,
 When martiall matters were in hand, the which he liked best.*

*Nicagoras
Messenian,
an enemy to
Cleomenes.*

Nowe *Cleomenes* standing in these tearmes, there arrived in ALEXANDRIA one *Nicagoras* MESSENIAN, who maliced *Cleomenes* in his hart, but yet shewed as though he loved him. This *Nicagoras* on a time had sold *Cleomenes* certein land, but was not payed for it, either bicause he had no present money, or els by occasion of the warres which gave him no leasure to make payment. *Cleomenes* one day by chaunce walking upon the sandes, he sawe *Nicagoras* landing out of his shippe, being newly arrived, and knowing him, he curteously welcomed him, and asked what wind had brought him into ÆGYPT. *Nicagoras* gently saluting him againe, tolde him that he had brought the king excellent horse of service. *Cleomenes* smiling, told him, thou haddest bene better have brought him some curtisans and daunsters, for they would have pleased the king better. *Nicagoras* faintly laughed at his aunswer, but within few dayes after he did put him in remembraunce of the land he sold him, and prayed him then that he would helpe him to money, telling him that he would not have prest him for it, but that he had susteyned losse by marchandise. *Cleomenes* aunswered him, that all his pension was spent he had of the king. *Nicagoras* being offended with this aunswer, he went and told *Sosibius* of the mocke *Cleomenes* gave the king. *Sosibius* was glad of this occasion, but yet desiring further matter to make the king offended with *Cleomenes*, he perswaded *Nicagoras* to write a letter to the king agaynst *Cleomenes*, as though he had conspired to take the citie of CYRENA, if the king had given him shippes, money, and men of warre. When *Nicagoras* had written this letter, he tooke shippe, and hoysed sayle. Foure dayes after his departure, *Sosibius* brought his letter to the king, as though he had but newly received it. The king apou sight of it was so offended with *Cleomenes*, that he gave present order he should be shut up in a great house, where he should

*Cleomenes
committed to
prison in Al-
exandria.*

have his ordinary dyet allowed him, howbeit that he should
 keepe his house. This grieved *Cleomenes* much, but yet
 he was worse affraid of that which was to come, by this
 occasion: *Ptolomy* the sonne of *Chrysermus*, one of the
 kings familliers, who had oftentimes before bene very
 conversant and famillier with *Cleomenes*, and did franckly
 talke together in all matters: *Cleomenes* one daye sent
 for him, to praye him to come unto him. *Ptolomy* came at
 his request, and familliarly discoursing together, went
 about to dissuade him from all the suspicions he had,
 and excused the king also for that he had done unto him:
 so taking his leave he left him, not thinking that *Cleom-
 enes* followed him (as he did) to the gate, where he sharp-
 ly tooke up the souldiers, saying, that they were very
 negligent and careles in looking to such a fearefull beast
 as he was, and so ill to be taken, if he once scaped their
 handes. *Cleomenes* heard what he sayd, and went into his
 lodging againe, *Ptolomy* knowing nothing that he was
 behind him: and reported the very wordes againe unto
 his friendes. Then all the SPARTANS converting their
 good hope into anger, determined to be revenged of the
 injurie *Ptolomy* had done them, and to dye like noble
 SPARTANS not tarying til they should be brought to the
 shambles like fat weathers, to be sold and killed. For it
 would be a great shame and dishonor unto *Cleomenes*,
 having refused to make peace with *Antigonus*, a noble
 Prince and warrier: to tary the kinges pleasure till he had
 left his dronckennes and daunsing, and then to come and
 put him to death. They beeing fully resolved hereof, as
 you have heard: king *Ptolomy* by chaunce went unto the
 citie of CANOBVS, and first they gave out in ALEXAN-
 DRIA, that the king minded to set *Cleomenes* at libertie.
 Then *Cleomenes* friendes observing the custom of the
 kings of ÆGYPT, when they ment to set a prisoner at lib-
 ertie (which was, to send the prisoners meate, & presents

*Cleomenes
 practiseth to
 kill king
 Ptolomy.*

before to their supper) did send unto him such manner of presents, and so deceived the souldiers that had the keeping of him, saying, that they brought those presents from the king. For *Cleomenes* him selfe did sacrifice unto the goddes, and sent unto the souldiers that kept him, parte of those presents that were sent unto him, and supping with his friendes that night, made mery with them, every man being crowned with garlands. Some say, that he made the more haste to execute his enterprise, sooner then he would have done, by meanes of one of his men that was privye unto his conspiracie: who went every night to lye with a woman he kept, and therefore was affraid lest he would bewray them. *Cleomenes* about noone, perceiving the souldiers had taken in their cuppes, and that they were a sleepe: he put on his coate, and unripping it on the right shoulder, went out of the house with his sword drawn in his hand, accompanied with his friends, following him in that sort, which were thirty in all. Amongest them there was one called *Hippotas*, who being lame, went very lively out with them at the first: but when he saw they went faier and softly because of him, he prayed them to kil him, because they should not hinder their enterprise for a lame man, that could doe them no service. Notwithstanding, by chaunce they met with a townes man a horsebacke, that came hard by their dore, whome they pluckt from his horse, and cast *Hippotas* uppon him: and then ranne through the citie, and cryed to the people, libertie, libertie. Now the people had no other corage in them, but onely commended *Cleomenes*, and wondred at his valiantnes: but otherwise to follow him, or to further his enterprise, not a man of them had any hart in them. Thus running up & downe the towne, they met with *Ptolomy* (the same whome we sayde before was the sonne of *Chrysermus*) as he came out of the Court: Whereuppon three of them setting on him,

slue him presently. There was also another *Ptolomy* that was governor and Lieuutenant of the citie of ALEXANDRIA: who hearing a rumor of this sturre, came unto them in his coche. They went and met him, and first having driven away his garde and souldiers that went before him, they pluckt him out of his coche, and slue him also. After that they went towards the castell, with intent to set all the prisoners there at libertie to take their part. Howbeit the gaylers that kept them had so strongly locked up the prison dores, that *Cleomenes* was repulsed, and put by his purpose. Thus wandring up and downe the citie, no man neither came to joyne with him, nor to resist him, for every man fled for feare of him. Wherefore at length being weary with going up and downe, he turned him to his friends, and sayd unto them: it is no marvell though women commaund such a cowardly people, that flye in this sort from their libertie. Thereuppon he prayed them all to dye like men, and like those that were brought up with him, and that were worthy of the fame of his so noble deedes. Then the first man that made him selfe be slayne, was *Hippotas*, who dyed of a wound one of the younge men of his company gave him with a sword at his request. After him every man slue them selves, one after another, without any feare at all, saving *Panteas*, who was the first man that entred the citie of MEGALIPOLIS. He was a faier younge man, and had bene very well brought up in the LACONIAN discipline, and better then any man of his yeares. *Cleomenes* did love him dearely, and commaunded him that when he should see he were dead, and all the rest also, that then he should kill him selfe last of all. Now they all being layed on the ground, he searched them one after another with the poynt of his sword, to see if there were any of them yet left alive: and when he had pricked *Cleomenes* on the heele amongst others, and saw that he did yet knit his browes, he kissed

*The ende and
death of
Cleomenes
and his
friendes.
The corage
of Panteas.*

him, and sate downe by him. Then perceiving that he had yelded up the ghost, imbracing him when he was dead, he also slue him selfe, and fell upon him. Thus *Cleomenes* having raigned king of SPARTA sixteene yeares, being the same manner of man we have describ'd him to be: he ended his dayes in this sort as ye heare. Now, his death being presently bruted through the citie, *Cratesiclea* his mother, though otherwise she had a noble minde, did notwithstanding a litle forget her greatnes, through thextreame sorow she felt for the death of her sonne: and so imbracing *Cleomenes* sonnes, she fell to bitter lamentacion. But the eldest of his sonnes, (no man mistrusting any such matter) found meanes to get out of her handes, and running up to the toppe of the house, cast him selfe headlong downe to the ground, that his head was all broken and splitted, yet died not, but was taken up crying, and angry with them, that they would not suffer him to dye. This newes being brought to king *Ptolomy*, he commaunded they should first flea *Cleomenes*, and then hange up his body, and also, that they should put his children, his mother, and all her women wayting on her to death: among the which was *Panteas* wife, one of the fayrest and curteousest women in her tyme. They had not beene longe married before, when these mischieves lighted upon them, at what tyme their love was then in greatest force. Her parents then would not let her depart, and imbarke with her husband, but had locked her up, and kept her at home by force. Howbeit shortly after she found the meanes to get her a horse, and some money, and stole away in the night, and gallopped towards the haven of Tænarus, where finding a shippe ready bound for ÆGYPT, she imbarked, and went to seeke her husband, with whome she gladly and lovingly ledde her life, forsaking her owne contry, to live in a straunge Realme. Now when the Sergeaunts came to take *Cratesiclea* to

put her to death, *Panteas* wife led her by the arme, cary-
 ing up her traine, and did comfort her, although *Crates-
 iclea* otherwise was not affraid to dye, but onely asked
 this favor, that she might dye before her litle children.
 This notwithstanding, when they came to the place of
 execution, the hangman first slue her children before her
 eyes, and then her selfe afterwards, who in such great
 grieve & sorowe, sayd no more but thus: Alas, my poore
 children, what is become of you? And *Panteas* wife also,
 being a mighty tall woman, girding her clothes to her,
 tooke up the slayne bodies one after another, and wrap-
 ped them up in such things as she could get, speaking
 never a word, nor shewing any signe or token of grieve:
 and in fine, having prepared her self to dye, and plucked
 of her attyre herselfe, without suffering any other to come
 neare her, or to see her, but the hangman that was ap-
 poynted to stryke of her head. In this sorte she dyed as
 constantly, as the stowtest man living could have done,
 and had so covered her body, that no man needed after
 her death to touche her: so carefull was she to her ende,
 to keepe her honestie, which she had alwayes kept in her
 life, and in her death was mindefull of her honor, where-
 with she decked her body in her life tyme. Thus these
 LACEDÆMON Ladies playing their partes in this pitifull
 tragedie, contending at the time of death, even with the
 corage of the slayne SPARTANS their contrymen, which
 of them should dye most constantly: left a manifest prooffe
 and testimonie, that fortune hath no power over forti-
 tude & corage. Shortly after, those that were appoynted
 to keepe the body of king *Cleomenes* that hong upon the
 crosse, they spied a great Serpent wreathed about his
 head, that covered all his face, insomuch as no ravening
 fowle durst come neare him to eate of it: whereuppon the
 king fell into a superstitious feare, being affrayed that he
 had offended the goddes. Hereuppon, the Ladyes in his

*Cleomenes
 hanging upon
 a crosse, had
 a Serpent
 wreathed
 about his
 head.*

*Living things
breeding of
the corrup-
tion of dead
beasts.*

*Why the
Dragon is
consecrated
unto Princes.*

Court began to make many sacrifices of purification, for the clearing of this sinne: perswading them selves, that they had put a man to death, beloved of the gods, and that he had something more in him then a man. The ALEXANDRIANS thereuppon went to the place of execution, and made their prayers unto *Cleomenes*, as unto a demy god, calling him the sonne of the goddes. Untill that the learned men brought them from that error, declaring unto them, that like as of oxen being dead and rotten, there breede bees, and of horse also come waspes, and of asses likewise bitels: even so mens bodies, when the marie melteth and gathereth together, doe bringe forth Serpents. The which comming to the knowledge of the auncients in olde tyme, of all other beastes they did consecrate the Dragon to Kinges and Princes, as proper unto man.

The end of the life of Agis and Cleomenes.



Tiberius and Caius Gracchi

NOW that we have declared unto you the historie
 of the lives of these two GRÆCIANS, *Agis* and
Cleomenes aforesayd: we must also write the histó-
 rie of two ROMANES, the which is no lesse lamentable for
 the troubles and calamities that chaunced unto *Tiberius* The worthi-
 nes of Tiberi-
 us Gracchus
 the father.
 Tiberius
 Gracchus the
 father, mar-
 ried Cornelia,
 the Daughter
 of Scipio
 African.
 and *Caius*, both of them the sonnes of *Tiberius Gracchus*.
 He having bene twice Consul, and once Censor, and hav-
 ing had the honor of two triumphs: had notwithstanding
 more honor and fame onely for his valiantnes, for the
 which he was thought worthy to marye with *Cornelia*,
 the daughter of *Scipio*, who overcame *Hanniball* after the
 deathe of his father: though while he lived he was never
 his friend, but rather his enemy. It is reported, that *Tib-*
erius on a tyme found two snakes in his bed, and that the

*The tender
love of Tibe-
rius to his
wife Corn-
elia.*

*The praise of
Cornelia,
mother of the
Gracchi.*

Soothsayers and wysards having considered the signification thereof, did forbid him to kill them both, and also to let them both escape, but one onely: assuring him that if he killed the male, he should not live long after: and if he killed the female, that then his wife *Cornelia* shoulde dye. *Tiberius* then loving his wife dearely, thinking it meeter for him also, that he being the elder of both, and she yet a younge woman, should dye before her: he slue the male, and let the female escape, howbeit he dyed soone after, leaving twelve children alive, all of them begotten of *Cornelia*. *Cornelia* after the death of her husband, taking upon her the rule of her house and children, led such a chaste life, was so good to her children, and of so noble a minde: that every man thought *Tiberius* a wise man for that he dyed, and left her behind him. She remayning widow, king *Ptolomy* made sute unto her, and would have made her his wife and Queene. But she refused, and in her widowehed lost all her children, but one Daughter, (whome she bestowed upon the younger *Scipio African*) and *Tiberius*, and *Caius*, whose lives we presently write. Those she so carefully brought up, that they being become more civill, and better conditioned, then any other ROMANES in their time: every man judged, that education prevailed more in them, then nature. For, as in the favors and pictures of *Castor* and *Pollux*, there is a certaine difference discerned, whereby a man may know that the one was made for wrestling, and the other for running: even so betwene these two young brethren, amongst other the great likenes betwene them, being both happily borne to be valiant, to be temperate, to be liberall, to be learned, and to be nobly minded, there grew notwithstanding great difference in their actions & doings in the common wealth: the which I thinke convenient to declare, before I proceede any farther. First of all, for the favor of the face, the looke and moving of the

bodye, *Tiberius* was much more milde and tractable, and *Caius* more hotte and earnest. For the first in his orations was very modest, and kept his place: and the other of all the ROMANES was the first, that in his oration jetted up and downe the pulpit, and that plucked his gowne over his shoulders: as they write of *Cleo* ATHENIAN, that he was the first of all Orators that opened his gowne, and clapped his hand on his thighe in his oration. Furthermore, *Caius* wordes, and the vehemencie of his perswasion, were terrible and full of passion: but *Tiberius* wordes in contrary manner, were mild, and moved men more to compassion, beeing very propper, and excellently applied, where *Caius* wordes were full of finenes and curiositie. The like difference also was betwene them in their fare and dyet. For *Tiberius* alwayes kept a convenient ordinarie: and *Caius* also in respect of other ROMANES, lived very temperately, but in respect of his brothers fare, curiously and superfluously. Insomuch as *Drusus* on a tyme reproved him, bicause he had bought certayne Dolphyns of silver, to the value of a thowsand two hundred and fiftie Drachmas for every pownd waight. And now, as touching the manners and naturall disposition of them both, agreeing with the diversitie of their tongues, the one being milde and plausible, and the other hotte and chollerike: insomuch that otherwhile forgetting him selfe in his oration, against his will he would be very earnest, and strayne his voice beyond his compasse, and so with great uncomelines confound his wordes. Yet finding his owne fault, he devised this remedye. He had a servaunt called *Licinius*, a good wise man, who with an instrument of Musicke he had, by the which they teache men to ryse and fall in their tunes, when he was in his oration, he ever stooode behinde him: and when he perceyved that his Maisters voyce was a litle too lowde, & that through choller he exceeded his ordinary speache:

*A true description of
Tiberius and
Caius Gracchi.*

he played a softe stoppe behinde him, at the sownde whereof *Caius* immediatly fell from his extremitie, and easily came to him selfe agayne. And here was the diversitie betweene them. Otherwise, for their hardines against their enemies, the justice unto their tennaunts, the care and paynes in their offices of charge, and also their continencie against voluptuousnes: in all these they were both alike. For age, *Tiberius* was elder by nyne yeares, by reason whereof their severall authoritie and doings in the common wealth fell out at sundry times. And this was one of the chiefeest causes why their doings prospered not, bicause they had not both authoritie in one selfe time, nether could they joyne their power together: the which if it had mette at one selfe time, had bene of great force, and peradventure invincible. Wherefore we must write perticularly of them both, but first of all we must begin with the elder. He, when he came to mans state, had such a name and estimacion, that immediatly they made him fellow, in the colledge of the Priests, which at ROME are called Augures: (being those that have the charge to consider of signes and predictions of things to come) more for his valiantnes, then for nobility. The same doth *Appius Clodius* witnesse unto us, one that hath bene both Consul and Censor, and also President of the Senate, and of greater authoritie then any man in his time. This *Appius* at a supper when all the Augures were together, after he had saluted *Tiberius*, and made very much of him, he offered him his daughter in mariage. *Tiberius* was very glad of the offer, and therewithall the mariage was presently concluded betweene them. There-uppon *Appius* comming home to his house, at the threshold of his dore he called a lowd for his wife, and told her: *Antistia*, I have bestowed our Daughter *Clodia*. She wondring at it, ô goddes sayd she, and what needed all this hašte? what couldest thou have done more, if thou

Tiberius
made Augure

Tiberius
married *Appius Clodius*
daughter.

haddest gotten her *Tiberius Gracchus* for her husband? I know that some refer this historie unto *Tiberius*, father of these two men we write of, & unto *Scipio* the AFRICAN: but the most part of writers agree with that we write at this present. And *Polybius* him selfe also writeth, that after the death of *Scipio* AFRICAN, his friendes beeing met together, they chose *Tiberius* before all the other younge men of the citie, to marye him unto *Cornelia*, being free, and unpromised, or bestowed apon any man by her father. Now *Tiberius* the yonger being in the warres in AFRICKE under *Scipio* the second, who had maryed his sister: lying in his tent with him, he found his Captaine indued with many noble giftes of nature, to allure mens harts to desire to follow his valiantnes. So in a short tyme he did excell all the younge men of his tyme, aswell in obedience, as in the valiantnes of his person: insomuch that he was the first man that scaled the walles of the enemies, as *Fannius* reporteth, who sayeth that he scaled the walles with him, and did helpe him in that valiant enterprise. So that being present, all the campe were in love with him: and when he was absent, every man wished for him againe. After this warre was ended, he was chosen Treasurer, and it was his chaunce to goe against the NVMANTINES, with *Caius Mancinus* one of the Consuls, who was an honest man, but yet had the worst lucke of any Captaine the ROMANES had. Notwithstanding, *Tiberius* wisdom and valiantnes, in this extreame ill lucke of his Captaine, did not onely appeare with great glorie to him, but also most wonderfull, the great obedience and reverence he bare unto his Captaine: though his misfortunes did so trouble and grieve him, that he could not tell him selfe, whether he was Captaine or not. For when he was overthrowen in great foughten fieldes, he departed in the night, and left his campe. The NVMANTINES hearing of it, first tooke his campe, and then ranne after

*Tiberius
Gracchus
souldierfare.*

*Tiberius
Gracchus
chosen Quæstor.*

them that fled, and setting upon the rereward, slue them, and envyronned all his armye. So that they were driven into straight and narrow places, where out they could by no meanes escape. Thereuppon *Mancinus* dispayring that he could get out by force, he sent a Herauld to the enemyes to treat of peace. The *NVMANTINES* made answer, that they would trust no man but *Tiberius* onely, and therefore they willed he shoulde bee sent unto them. They desired that, partly for the love they bare unto the vertues of the younge man, bicause there was no talke of any other in all this warre but of him: and partly also, as remembring his father *Tiberius*, who making warres in SPAYNE, and having there subdued many nations, he graunted the *NVMANTINES* peace, the which he caused the *ROMANES* afterwarde to confirme and ratifie. Hereuppon *Tiberius* was sent to speake with them, and partly obteyning that he desired, & partly also graunting them that they required: he concluded peace with them, whereby assuredly he saved the lives of twenty thowsande *ROMANE* Citizens, besides slaves and other stragglers that willingly followed the campe. This notwithstanding, the *NVMANTINES* tooke the spoyle of all the goods they founde in the *ROMANES* campe, amonge the which they founde *Tiberius* bookes of accompt touching the money disbursed of the treasure in his charge. *Tiberius* beeing marvailous desirous to have his bookes agayne, returned backe to *NVMANTIA* with two or three of his friendes onely, though the armye of the *ROMANES* were gone farre on their waye. So comming to the towne, he spake unto the governors of the citie, and prayed them to redeliver him his bookes of accompt, bicause his malicious enemies should not accuse him, calling him to accompt for his doings. The *NVMANTINES* were very glad of this good happe, and prayed them to come into the towne. He standing still in doubt with him selfe what to doe,

*Tiberius
Gracchus
concludeth
peace with
the Numan-
tines.*

whether he should goe into the towne or not: the governors of the citie came to him, and taking him by the hande, prayed he would thinke they were not his enemies, but good friendes, and that he would trust them. Whereuppon *Tiberius* thought best to yeelde to their perswasion, beeing desirous also to have his bookes agayne, and the rather, for feare of offending the NUMANTINES, if he shoulde have denyed and mistrusted them. When he was brought into the citie, they provided his dynner, and were very earnest with him, intreating him to dyne with them. Then they gave him his bookes agayne, and offered him moreover to take what he woulde of all the spoyle they had gotten in the campe of the ROMANES. Howebeit of all that he woulde take nothing but frankensence, which he used, when he did any sacrifice for his contry: & then taking his leave of them, with thanks he returned. When he was returned to ROME, all this peace concluded was utterly misliked, as dishonorable to the majestie of the Empire of ROME. Yet, the parents and friendes of them that had served in this warre, making the greatest part of the people: they gathered about *Tiberius*, saying that what faultes were committed in this service, they were to impute it unto the Consul *Mancinus*, & not unto *Tiberius*, who had saved such a number of ROMANES lives. Notwithstanding, they that were offended with this dishonorable peace, would that therein they should follow the example of their forefathers in the like case. For they sent backe their Captaines naked unto their enemies, because they were contented the SAMNITES should spoyle them of that they had, to escape with life. Moreover, they did not onely send them the Captaines and Consuls, but all those also that bare any office in the felde, and had consented unto that condition: to the ende they might lay all the perjurie and breache of peace upon them. Herein therefore did manifestly appeare, the

*The peace
broken with
the Numantines.*

love and good will the people did beare unto *Tiberius*. For they gave order, that the Consul *Mancinus* should be sent naked, and bound unto the NVMANTINES, and for *Tiberius* sake, they pardoned all the rest. I thinke *Scipio*, who bare great sway at that time in ROME, and was a man of greateſt accompt, did helpe him at that pinche: who notwithstanding was ill thought of, bicause he did not also save the Consul *Mancinus*, and confirme the peace concluded with the NVMANTINES, considering it was made by *Tiberius* his friend and kinsman. But these mislikings grew chiefly through the ambition of *Tiberius* friendes, and certein learned men, which stirred him up against *Scipio*. But yet it fell not out to open malice betwene them, neither followed there any hurte upon it. And surely I am perswaded, that *Tiberius* had not fallen into those troubles he did afterwards, if *Scipio* AFRICAN had bene present, when he passed those thinges he preferred. But *Scipio* was then in warres at the seege of NVMANTIA, when *Tiberius* upon this occasion passed these lawes. When the ROMANES in olde tyme had overcomen any of their neighbours, for raunsom they tooke oftentimes a great deale of their land from them, parte whereof they solde by the cryer, for the benefite of the common wealth, and parte also they reserved to their state as demeane, which afterwards was let out to farme for a small rent yearly, to the poore Citizens that had no lands. Howbeit the riche men inhaused the rents, and so began to thrust out the poore men. Thereuppon was an ordinance made, that no Citizen of ROME should have above five hundred acres lande. This lawe for a tyme did bridle the covetousnes of the riche men, and did ease the poore also that dwelt in the contry, upon the farmes they had taken up of the common wealth, and so lived with their owne, or with that their Auncestors had from the beginning. But by proces of time, their riche neighbours,

Why Tiberius preferred the law Agraria.

Jugera.

by names of other men, got their farmes over their heads, and in the end, the most of them were openly seene in it in their own names. Whereuppon, the poore people being thus turned out of all, went but with faint corage afterwards to the warre, nor cared any more for bringing up of children: So that in short time, the free men left ITALY, and slaves and barbarous people did replenish it, whom the rich men made to plough those landes, which they had taken from the ROMANES. *Caius Lælius*, one of *Scipioes* friends, gave an attempt to reforme this abuse: but bicause the chieftest of the citie were against him, fearing it would breake out to some uprore, he desisted from his purpose, and therefore he was called *Lælius* the wise. But *Tiberius* being chosen Tribune, he did forthwith preferre the reformation aforesayd, being allured unto it (as divers writers report) by *Diophanes* the Orator, and *Blossius* the Philosopher: of the which, *Diophanes* was banished from the citie of MITYLENE, & *Blossius* the ITALIAN from the citie of CYMES, who was scholler and famillier unto *Antipater* of TARSVS at ROME, by whome he was honored by certaine workes of Philosophie he dedicated unto him. And some also do accuse their mother *Cornelia*, who did twit her sonnes in the teeth, that the ROMANES did yet call her *Scipioes* mother in law, and not the mother of the GRACCHI. Other say it was *Spurius Posthumius*, a companion of *Tiberius*, & one that contended with him in eloquence. For *Tiberius* returning from the warres, and finding him farre beyond him in fame and reputacion, and well beloved of every one: he sought to excell him by attempting this noble enterprise, and of so great exspectacion. His owne brother *Caius* in a certaine booke, wrote, that as he went to the warres of NVMANTIA, passing through THVSCAN, he founde the contrye in manner uninhabited: and they that did followe the ploughe, or keepe beastes, were the most

Why Caius Lælius was called the wise.

Tiberius Gracchus chosen Tribune of the people.

*Counsellors
to Tiberius
for prefer-
ring the law.*

*Lex
Agraria.*

of them slaves, and barbarous people, comen out of a straunge contrie. Whereuppon ever after it ranne in his minde to bringe this enterprise to passe, which brought great troubles to their house. But in fine, it was the people onely that moſte set his harte afire to covet honor, and that haſtened his determinacion: firſt bringing him to it by bylles sette uppe on every wall, in every porche, and uppon the tombes, praying him by them to cauſe the poore Citizens of ROME to have their landes reſtored, which were belonging to the common wealth. This notwithstanding he him ſelfe made not the lawe alone of his owne head, but did it by the counsell and adviſe of the chiefeſt men of ROME, for vertue and eſtimation: Amonge the which, *Crassus* the high Biſhoppe was one, and *Mutius Scaevola* the Lawyer, that then was Conſul, and *Appius Clodius* his father in lawe. And truly it ſeemeth, that never lawe was made with greater favor, then that which he preferred againſt ſo great iniuſtice, & avarice. For thoſe that ſhould have bene puniſhed for tranſgreſſing the lawe, and ſhould have had the landes taken from them by force, which they unjuſtly kept againſt the lawe of ROME, and that ſhould alſo have bene amerciſed for it: he ordeyned that they ſhould be payed by the common wealth to the value of the landes, which they held unjuſtly, and ſo ſhould leave them to the poore Citizens againe that had no land, & lacked helpe and reliefe. Now, though the reformation eſtabliſhed by this lawe, was done with ſuch great favor: the people notwithstanding were contented, and would forget all that was paſt, ſo that they might have no more wronge offered them in time to come. But the rich men, and men of great poſſeſſions, hated the law for their avarice, and for ſpight and ſelfwill (which would not let them yeeld) they were at deadly foode with the Lawyer that had preferred the lawe, and ſought by all deviſe they could to diſſwade the

people from it: telling them that *Tiberius* brought in this law Agraria againe, to disturbe the common wealth, and to make some alteracion in the state. But they prevailed not. For *Tiberius* defending the matter, which of it selfe *Tiberius orations.* was good and just, with such eloquence as might have justified an evill cause, was invincible: and no man was able to argue against him to confute him, when speaking in the behalfe of the poore Citizens of ROME, (the people being gathered round about the pulpit for orations) he told them, that the wild beastes through ITALY had their dennes and caves of abode, and that the men that fought, and were slaine for their contry, had nothing els but ayer and light, & so were compelled to wander up & downe with their wives and children, having no resting place nor house to put their heads in: and that the Captaines do but mocke their souldiers, when they encorage them in battel to fight valiantly for the graves, the temples, their owne houses, and their predecessors. For, said he, of such a number of poore Citizens as there be, there can not a man of them shew any auncient house or tombe of their auncestors: bicause the poore men doe go to the warres, & be slaine for the rich mens pleasures & wealth: besides they falsely cal them Lordes of the earth, where they have not a handfull of ground, that is theirs. These and such other like wordes being uttered before all the people with such vehemency and trothe, did so move the common people withall, and put them in such a rage, that there was no adversarye of his able to withstand him. Therefore, leaving to contrary and deny the lawe by argument, the rich men did put all their trust in *Marcus Oct-* *Marcus Octavius* *Tribune, did* *withstand* *Tiberius* *lawe.* *avius*, colleague and fellow Tribune with *Tiberius* in office, who was a grave and wise young man, and *Tiberius* very famillier friend. So that the first time they came to him, to oppose him against the confirmation of this lawe: he prayed them to holde him excused, bicause *Tiberius*

*The modest
contention
betwixt Tib-
erius and
Octavius.*

was his very friend. But in the ende, being compelled unto it through the great number of the riche men that were importunate with him: he did withstande *Tiberius* lawe, the which was enoughe to overthrowe it. For if any one of the Tribunes speake against it, though all the other passe with it, he overthroweth it: bicause they all can doe nothing, if one of them be against it. *Tiberius* being very much offended with it, proceeded no further in this first favorable law, and in a rage preferred an other more gratefull to the common people, as also more extreme against the riche. In that law he ordeyned, that whosoever had any lands contrary to the auncient lawes of ROME, that he should presently depart from them. But theruppon there fel out continual brawles in the pulpit for orations, against *Octavius*: in the which, though they were very earnest and vehement one against another, yet there passed no fowle words from them, (how hot soever they were one with another) that should shame his companion. Whereby it appeareth, that to be well brought up, breedeth such a stay and knowledge in a man, not onely in things of pleasure to make him regard his credit, both in word and deede: but in passion and anger also, and in their greatest ambition of glory. Thereuppon *Tiberius* finding that this lawe among others touched *Octavius*, bicause he enjoyed a great deale of lande that was the common wealthes: he prayed him secretly to contend no more against him, promising him to give him of his owne, the value of those lands which he should be driven to forsake, although he was not very able to performe it. But when he sawe *Octavius* would not be perswaded, he then preferred a law, that all Magistrates and Officers should cease their authoritie, till the law were either past, or rejected, by voices of the people: and thereuppon he set his own seale upon the dores of the temple of *Saturne*, where the cofers of the treasure lay, bicause the treasurers them

selves during that time, should neither take out nor put in any thing, apon great pennalties to be forfeited by the Prætors or any other Magiſtrat of authority, that should breake this order. Hereuppon, all the Magiſtrates fearing this pennaltie, did leave to exercise their office for the time. But then the riche men that were of great livings, chaunged their apparell, and walked very sadly up and downe the market place, and layed ſecret wayte to take *Tiberius*, having hyered men to kill him: which caused *Tiberius* him ſelfe, openly before them all, to weare a ſhorte dagger under his longe gowne, properly called in Latine, *Dolon*. When the day came that this lawe should be eſtabliſhed, *Tiberius* called the people to give their voyces: and the riche men on thother ſide, they tooke away the pots by force, wherein the papers of mens voyces were throwen, ſo that there was like to fall out great ſturre upon it. For the faction of *Tiberius* was the ſtronger ſide, by the number of people that were gathered about him for that purpose: had it not bene for *Manlius & Fulvius*, both the which had ben Conſuls, who went unto him, and beſought him with the teares in their eies, and holding up their hands, that he would let the lawe alone. *Tiberius* thereuppon, foreſeeing the inſtant daunger of ſome great miſchief, as alſo for the reverence he bare unto two ſuch noble perſons, he ſtayed a litle, and asked them what they would have him to doe. They made aunſwer, that they were not able to counſel him in a matter of ſo great waight, but they praied him notwithstanding, he would be contented to referre it to the judgement of the Senate. Thereuppon he graunted them preſently. But afterwards perceiving that the Senate ſate apon it, and had determined nothing, bicauſe the rich men were of too great authoritie: he entred into another deviſe that was nether honeſt nor meete, which was, to deprive *Octavius* of his Tribuneship, knowing that otherwiſe he

*Tiberius
deposeth
Octavius of
his Tribune-
ship.*

could not possibly come to passe the law. But before he tooke that course, he openly intreated him in the face of the people with curteous words, and tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to stand no more against him, and to doe the people this pleasure, which required a matter just and reasonable, and onely requested this smal recompence for the great paines they tooke in service abroad for their contry. *Octavius* denied him plainly. Then said *Tiberius* openly, that both of them being brethren in one selfe place and authoritie, and contrary one to another in a matter of so great waight, this contention could not be possibly ended, without civill warre: and that he could see no way to remedy it, unles one of them two were deposed from their office. Thereuppon he bad *Octavius* begin first with him, and he would rise from the benche with a good will, and become a private man, if the people were so contented. *Octavius* would doe nothing in it. *Tiberius* then replied, that he would be doing with him, if he altered not his mind, apou a better breathe and consideration: and so dismissed the assemblie for that daye. The next morning the people being againe assembled, *Tiberius* going up to his seate, attempted agayne to perswade *Octavius* to leave of. In fine, finding him still a man unremoveable, he referred the matter to the voyce of the people, whether they were contented *Octavius* should be deposed from his office. Nowe there were five and thirtie trybes of the people, of the which, seventene of them had already passed their voyces agaynst *Octavius*, so that there remayned but one trybe more to put him out of his office. Then *Tiberius* made them stave for proceeding any further, and prayed *Octavius* agayne, imbracing him before all the people, with all the intreatye possible: that for selfewill sake he would not suffer such an open shame to be done unto him, as to be put out of his office: neither also to make him the occasion and instrument of so piti-

full a deede. They saye that *Octavius* at this last intreatie was somewhat moved and wonne by his perswasions, & that weeping, he stayed a longe tyme, and made no answer. But when he looked apon the riche men that stoode in a great company together, he was ashamed (I thinke) to have their ill willes, and rather betooke him selfe to the losse of his office, and so bad *Tiberius* doe what he would. Thereuppon he beeing deprived by voyces of the people, *Tiberius* commaunded one of his infranchised bondmen to pull him out of the pulpit for orations: for he used his infranchised bondmen in steede of Sergeants. This made the sight so much more lamentable, to see *Octavius* thus shamefully pluckt away by force. Yea furthermore, the common people would have ronne apon him, but the riche men came to rescue him, & would not suffer them to doe him further hurte. So *Octavius* saved him selfe ronning away alone, after he had bene rescued thus from the fury of the people. Moreover, there was a faithfull servaunt of *Octavius*, who stepping before his Maister to save him from hurt, had his eyes pulled out, against *Tiberius* minde, who ranne to the rescue with all speede, when he heard the noyse. After that, the lawe Agraria passed for division of landes, and three Commissioners were appoynted to make inquirie and distribution thereof. The Commissioners appoynted were these: *Tiberius* him selfe: *Appius Clodius* his father in lawe, and *Caius Gracchus* his brother: who was not at that tyme in ROME, but in the campe with *Scipio* AFRICAN, at the seege of the citie of NVMANTIA. Thus *Tiberius* very quietly passed over these matters, and no man durst withstand him: and furthermore, he substituted in *Octavius* place no man of qualitie, but onely one of his followers, called *Mutius*. Wherewith the noble men were so sore offended with him, that fearing the increase of his greatness, they being in the Senate house did what they could

*Tiberius pre-
ferreth the
law Agraria.*

possible to doe him despyte and shame. For when *Tiberius* demaunded a tent at the charge of the common wealth, when he should goe abroad to make division of these landes, as they usually graunted unto others, that many tymes went in farre meaner commissions: they flatly denyed him, and through the procurement of *P. Nasica* (who being a great landed man in his contry, shewed him selfe in this action his mortall enemie, taking it greevously to be compelled to depart from his land) onely graunted him nyne of their obuli a day, for his ordinary allowance. But the people on thother side were all in an uprore against the riche. Insomuch as one of *Tiberius* friendes beeing deade uppon the sodaine, uppon whose body beeing deade there appeared very ill signes: the common people ranne sodainely to his buriall, & cryed out that he was poysoned. And so taking uppe the beere whereon his bodie laye uppon their showlders, they were present at the fire of his funeralls, where immediatly appeared certaine signes to make them suspect, that in deede there was vehement cause of presumption he was poysoned. For his belly burst, whereout there issued such abundance of corrupt humors, that they put out the first fire, and made them fetch another, the which also they could not make to burne, until that they were compelled to cary the bodie into some other place, where notwithstanding they had much a doe to make it burne. *Tiberius* seeing that, to make the common people mutyne the more, he put on mourning apparell, and brought his sonnes before them, and besought the people to be good unto them and their mother, as one that dispayred of his health and safetie. About that tyme dyed *Attalus*, surnamed *Philopater*, and *Eudemus* PERGAMENIAN brought his will to ROME, in the which he made the people of ROME his heires. Wherefore *Tiberius*, still to encrease the good wil of the common people towards him, preferred

King Attalus made the people of Rome his heire.

a law immediatly, that the ready money that came by the inheritance of this king shoulde bee distributed amonge the poore Citizens, on whose lot it should fall to have any parte of the division of the landes of the common wealth, to furnishe them towards house, and to set uppe their tillage. Furthermore, he sayd, that concerning the townes and cities of the kingdome of *Attalus*, the Senate had nothing to doe to take any order with them, but that the people were to dispose of them, and that he him selfe would put it out. That made him againe more hated of the Senate then before, insomuch as there was one *Pompey* a Senator, that standing up, sayde: that he was next neighbour unto *Tiberius*, and that by reason of his neighbourhood he knew that *Eudemus* PERGAMENIAN had given him one of king *Attalus* royall bands, with a purple gowne besides, for a token that he should one day be king of ROME. And *Quintus Metellus* also reproved him, for that his father being Censor, the ROMANES having supped in the towne, and repayingr every man home to his house, they did put out their torches and lights, because men seeing them returne, they should not thinke they taryed too long in companie bancketing: and that in contrary maner, the seditious and needy rabble of the common people did light his sonne home, and accompany him all night long up and downe the towne. At that tyme there was one *Titus Annius*, a man that had no goodnes nor honestie in him, howbeit taken for a great reasoner, and for a sottell questioner and aunswerer. He provoked *Tiberius* to aunswer him, whether he had not committed a shamefull fafte to his companion and brother Tribune, to defame him, that by the lawes of ROME, should have bene holy, and untouched. The people tooke this provocation very angrily, & *Tiberius* also comming out, and having assembled the people, commaunded them to bringe this *Annius* before him, that he might be endyted

*Tiberius law,
for deviding
of Attalus
money.*

*Titus An-
nius a sottile
questioner
and aunswer-
er of thinges.*

in the market place. But he finding him selfe farre inferior unto *Tiberius*, both in dignitie and eloquence, ranne to his fine sottill questions, to take a man at his worde; and prayed *Tiberius* before he did proceede to his accusation, that he would first aunswer him to a question he would aske him. *Tiberius* bad him saye what he would. So silence being made, *Annius* asked him: if thou wouldest defame me, and offer me injurie, and that I called one of thy companions to helpe me, and he should ryse to take my parte, and anger thee: wouldest thou therefore put him out of his office? It is reported that *Tiberius* was so gravelled with this question, that though he was one of the readiest speakers, and the boldest in his orations of any man: yet at that tyme he held his peace, and had no power to speake, and therefore he presently dismissed the assemblie. Afterwards, understanding that of al the things he did, the deposing of *Octavius* from his office was thought (not onely of the nobilitie, but of the common people also) as fowle and wilfull a parte as ever he played, for that thereby he had imbased, & utterly overthrowen the dignitie of the Tribunes, the which was alwayes had in great veneration untill that present tyme: to excuse him selfe therefore, he made an excellent oration to the people, whereby shall appeare unto you some special poyntes thereof, to discern the better the force & effect of his eloquence. "The Tribuneship" sayd he, "in deede was a holy and sacred thing, as peticularly consecrated to the people, and established for their benefit and safetie: Where contrariwise, if the Tribune doe offer the people any wronge, he thereby minisheth their power, and taketh away the meanes from them to declare their wills by voyces, besides that, he doth also imbase his owne authoritie, leaving to doe the thing for the which his authority first was given him. Or otherwise we could not choose but suffer a Tribune, if it pleased

*The oration
of Tiberius
Gracchus,
touching the
power and
authoritie of
the Tribune.*

him, to overthrow the Capitoll, or to set fire on the arsenall: and yet notwithstanding this wicked part, if it were committed, he should be Tribune of the people still, though a lewde Tribune. But when he goeth about to take away the authoritie and power of the people, then he is no more a Tribune. Were not this against all reason, thinke you, that a Tribune when he list, may take a Consul, & commit him to prison: & that the people should not withstand the authoritie of the Tribune, who gave him the same, when he would use his authoritie to the prejudice of the people? for the people are they that doe choose, both Consul & Tribune. Furthermore, the kingly dignitie (bicause in the same is conteyned the absolute authoritie and power of all other kindes of Magistrates and offices together) is consecrated with very great and holy ceremonies, drawing very neare unto the godhed: and yet the people expelled king *Tarquin*, bicause he used his authoritie with crueltie, and for the injurie he offered one man onely, the most auncient rule and government, (by the which the foundation of ROME was first layed) was utterly abolished. And who is there in all the citie of ROME to be reckoned so holy as the Vestall Nunnes, which have the custodie and keeping of the everlasting fire? and yet if any of these be taken in fornication, she is buried alive for her offence: for when they are not holy to the goddes, they lose the libertie they have, in respect of serving the goddes. Even so also it is unmeete, that the Tribune if he offend the people, should for the peoples sake be revered any more: Seeing that through his owne folly he hath deprived him selfe of that authoritie they gave him. And if it be so that he was chosen Tribune by the most parte of the trybes of the people: then by greater reason is he justly deprived, that by all the whole trybes together is forsaken and deposed? There is nothing more holy nor inviolate, then thinges offered up un-

to the goddess: and yet it was never seene that any man did forbid the people to take them, to remove & transport them from place to place, as they thought good. Even so, they may as lawfully transferre the office of the Tribune unto any other, as any other offering consecrated to the goddess. Furthermore, it is manifest that any Officer or Magistrate may lawfully depose him selfe: For, it hath bene often seene, that men in office have deprived them selves, or otherwise have sued to be discharged." This was the effect of *Tiberius* purgation. Now his friendes perceiving the threats the riche and noble men gave out against him, they wished him for the safetie of his person, to make sute to be Tribune againe the next yeare. Whereuppon he began to flatter the common people againe afresh, by new lawes which he preferred: by the which he tooke away the time and number of yeares prescribed, when every citizen of ROME was bound to goe to the warres being called, and his name billed. He made it lawfull also for men to appeale from sentence of the Judges unto the people, & thrust in also amongst the Senators (which then had absolute authoritie to judge among themselves) alike number of the ROMANE Knights, and by this meanes sought to weaken and imbase the authority of the Senate, increasing also the power of the people, more of malice then any reason, or for any justice or benefit to the common wealth. Furthermore, when it came to the gathering of the voyces of the people for the confirmation of his new lawes, finding that his enemies were the stronger in the assembly, bicause all the people were not yet come together: he fell a quarrelling with his brethren the Tribunes, alwayes to winne time, and yet in the end brake up the assembly, commaunding them to returne the next morning. There he would be the first man in the market place apparelled all in blacke, his face beblubbered with teares, and looking heavily

*Other lawes
made by Ti-
berius Grac-
chus.*

upon the matter, praying the people assembled to have compassion upon him, saying, that he was affrayed least his enemies would come in the night, and overthrow his house to kill him. Thereupon the people were so moved withall, that many of them came & brought their tentes, and lay about his house to watche it. At the breake of the day, the keeper of the chickins, by signes of the which they doe divine of thinges to come, brought them unto him, and cast them downe meate before them. None of them would come out of the cage but one only, and yet with much a doe, shaking the cage: and when it came out, it would eate no meate, but only lift up her left wing, and put forth her legge, and so ranne into the cage againe. This signe made *Tiberius* remember an other he had had before. He had a marvelous fayer helmet and very riche, which he ware in the warres: under it were crept two snakes unwares to any, and layed egges, and hatched them. This made *Tiberius* wonder the more, because of the ill signes of the chickins: notwithstanding, he went out of his house, when he heard that the people were assembled in the Capitoll, but as he went out, he hit his foote such a blow against a stone at the threshold of the dore, that he brake the nayle of his great toe, which fell in suche a bleeding, that it bled through his shooe. Againe, he had not gone farre, but he saw upon the toppe of a house on his left hand, a couple of ravens fighting together: and notwithstanding that there past a great number of people by, yet a stone which one of these ravens cast from them, came and fell hard at *Tiberius* foote. The fall thereof staid the stowtest man he had about him. But *Blossius* the Philosopher of Cumes that did accompany him, told him it were a great shame for him, and enough to kill the harts of all his followers: that *Tiberius* being the sonne of *Gracchus*, and nephew of *Scipio* the AFRICAN, and the chiefe man besides of all the peoples

*Unluckie
signes unto
Tiberius.*

side, for feare of a raven, should not obey his citzens that called him: and how that his enemies and ill willers would not make a laughing sporte of it, but would plainly tell the people that this was a tricke of a tyran that raigned in dede, and that for pride and disdaine did abuse the peoples good wills. Furthermore, divers messengers came unto him, and sayd that his frends that were in the Capitoll, sent to pray him to make haſt, for all went well with him. When he came thither, he was honorably received: for the people ſeeing him comming, cried out for joy to welcome him, and when he was gotten up to his ſeate, they ſhewed them ſelves both carefull and loving towards him, looking warely that none came neere him, but ſuch as they knew well. While *Mutius* beganne againe to call the tribes of the people to geve their voyces, he could not procede according to the accuſtomed order in the like caſe, for the great noyſe the hindmoſt people made, thruſting forward, and being driven backe, and one mingling with an other. In the meane time, *Flavius Flaccus*, one of the Senators, got up into a place where all the people might ſee him, and when he ſaw that his voyce coulde not be heard of *Tiberius*, he made a ſigne with his hande that he had ſome matter of great importance to tell him. *Tiberius* ſtraight bad them make a lane through the preaſe. So, with much a doe, *Flavius* came at length unto him, and tolde him, that the riche men in open Senate, when they could not frame the Conſull to their wills, determined them ſelves to come and kill him, having a great number of their frendes, and bondmen armed for the purpoſe. *Tiberius* immediatly declared this conſpiracy unto his frends and followers: who ſtraight girted their long gownes unto them, and brake the ſergeaunts javelins which they caried in their handes to make roome among the people, and tooke the tronchions of the ſame to reſiſt thoſe that would ſet apon them. The

*Flavius
Flaccus be-
wraieeth the
conſpiracy
againſt Tibe-
rius.*

people also that stooode furdest of, marveled at it, and asked what the matter was. *Tiberius* by a signe to tell them the daunger he was in, layed both his hands on his head, bicause they coulde not heare his voyce for the great noyse they made. His enemies seeing the signe he gave, ranne presently to the Senate, crying out, that *Tiberius* required a royall bande or diadeame of the people, and that it was an evident signe, bicause they sawe him clappe his handes upon his head. This tale troubled all the companie. Whereupon *Nasica* besought the Consul, chiefe of the Senate, to help the common wealth, and to take away this tyrant. The Consul gently aunswered againe, that he would use no force, neither put any citizen to death, but lawfully condemned: as also he would not receive *Tiberius*, nor protect him, if the people by his perswasion or commaundement, should commit any acte contrarie to the law. *Nasica* then rising in anger, sith the matter is so, sayd he, that the Consull regardeth not the common wealth: all you then, that will defende the authoritie of the law, follow me. Thereupon he cast the skirt of his gowne over his head, and went straight to the Capitoll. They that followed him also tooke their gownes, and wrapt them about their armes, and layed at as many as they might, to make them geve way: and yet very few of the people durst meete with such states as they were to stay them, bicause they were the chieftest men of the citie, but every man flying from them, they fel one on an others necke for hast. They that followed them, had brought from home great leavers and clubbes, and as they went, they tooke up feete of trestles and chaires which the people had overthrowen and broken, running away, and hyed them a pace to meete with *Tiberius*, striking at them that stooode in their way: so that in short space they had dispersed all the common people, and many were slaine flying. *Tiberius* seeing that, betooke him to

*Nasica doth
set upon Ti-
berius Grac-
chus.*

*Tiberius
Gracchus
the Tribune
slaine.*

his legges to save him selfe, but as he was flying, one tooke him by the gowne, and stayed him: but he leaving his gowne behinde him, ranne in his coate, and running fell upon them that were downe before. So, as he was rising up againe, the first man that strake him, and that was plainly seene strike him, was one of the Tribunes his brethren, called *Publius Satureius*: who gave him a great rappe on the head with the foote of a chaire, and the second blow he had, was geven him by *Lucius Rufus* that boasted of it, as if he had done a notable acte. In this tumult, there were slaine above three hundred men, & were all killed with staves and stones, and not one man hurt with any iron. This was the first sedition among the citizens of ROME, that fell out with murder, and bloodshed, since the expulsion of the kinges. But for all other former dissentions (which were no trifles) they were easily pacified, either partie geving place to other: the Senate for feare of the commoners, and the people for reverence they bare to the Senate. And it seemeth, that *Tiberius* him selfe woulde easely have yeelded also, if they had proceeded by faire meanes and perswasion, so they had ment good faith, and would have killed no man: for at that time he had not in all, above 3000. men of the people about him. But surely it seemes this conspiracie was executed against him, more for very spite and malice the rich men did beare him, then for any other apparant cause they presupposed against him. For prooffe hereof may be alleaged, the barbarous cruelty they used to his body being dead. For they would not suffer his owne brother to have his bodie to burie it by night, who made earnest sute unto them for it: but they threw him amongst the other bodies into the river, and yet this was not the worst. For, some of his frends they banished without forme of law, and others they put to death, which they coulde meete withall. Among the which, they slue *Dio-*

*Tiberius
frends slaine.*

phanes the Orator, and one *Caius Billius*, whom they inclosed in a pype among snakes and serpentes, and put him to death in this sorte. *Blossius* also the Philosopher of Cumes, was brought before the Consuls, and examined about this matter: who boldly confessed unto them, that he did as much as *Tiberius* commaunded him. When *Nasica* did aske him, and what if he had commaunded thee to set fire on the Capitoll? He made him aunswere, that *Tiberius* would never have geven him any suche commaundement. And when divers others also were still in hand with him about that question: but if he had commaunded thee? I would sure have done it, sayd he: for he would never have commaunded me to have done it, if it had not bene for the commoditie of the people. Thus he scaped at that time, and afterwards fled into ASIA unto *Aristonicus*, whom misfortune having overthrowen, he slue him selfe. Now, the Senate to pacifie the people at that present time, did no more withstand the law *Agraria*, for division of the lands of the common wealth, but suffered the people to appoint an other Commissioner for that purpose, in *Tiberius* place. Thereupon *Publius Crassus* was chosen, being allied unto *Tiberius*, for *Caius Gracchus* (*Tiberius* brother) had married his daughter *Licinia*. Yet *Cornelius Nepos* sayth, that it was not *Crassus* daughter, *Caius* married, but the daughter of *Brutus*, that triumphed for the LVSITANIANS. Howbeit the best wryters and authority, agree with that we wryte. But whatsoever was done, the people were marvelously offended with his death, and men might easely perceive, that they looked but for time and oportunitie to be revenged, and did presently threaten *Nasica* to accuse him. Whereupon the Senate fearing some trouble towards him, devised a way upon no occasion, to sende him into ASIA. For the common people did not dissemble the malice they bare him when they met him, but were verie

*The cruell
death of
Caius
Billius.*

*Nasica chiefe
Bishoppe of
Rome.*

round with him, and called him tyran, and murderer, excommunicate, and wicked man, that had imbrued his hands in the blood of the holy Tribune, and within the most sacred temple of all the citie. So in the ende he was inforced to forsake ROME, though by his office he was bounde to solemnise all the greatest sacrifices, bicause he was then chiefe Bishoppe of ROME. Thus, travelling out of his contrie like a meane man, and troubled in his minde: he dyed shortly after, not farre from the citie of PERGAMVM. Truly it is not greatly to be wondred at, though the people so much hated *Nasica*, considering that *Scipio* the AFRICAN him selfe (whom the people of ROME for iuster causes had loved better then any man else whatsoever) was like to have lost all the peoples good wils they bare him, bicause that being at the siege of NVMANTIA, when newes was brought him of *Tiberius* death, he rang out this verse of *Homer*:

*Scipioes sentence of the
death of Tiberius
Gracchus.*

*Such end upon him ever light,
Which in such doings doth delight.*

Furthermore, being asked in thassembly of the people, by *Caius*, and *Fulvius*, what he thought of *Tiberius* death: he aunswered them, that he did not like his doinges. After that the people handled him very churlishly, and did ever breake of his oration, which they never did before: and he him self also would revile the people even in the assembly. Now *Caius Gracchus* at the first, bicause he feared the enemies of his deade brother, or otherwise for that he sought meanes to make them more hated of the people: he absented him selfe for a time out of the common assembly, and kept at home and meddled not, as a man contented to live meanely, without busying him selfe in the common wealth: insomuch as he made men thinke and reporte both, that he did utterly mislike those matters which his brother had preferred. Howbeit he

was then but a young man, and nine yeares younger then his brother *Tiberius*, who was not thirty yeare old when he was slaine. But in processe of time, he made his manners and condicions (by litle and litle) appeare, who hated sloth and curiositie, and was least of all geuen unto any covetous minde of getting: for he gave him selfe to be eloquent, as preparing him wings afterwarde to practise in the common wealth. So that it appeared plainly, that when time came, he would not stand still, and looke on. When one *Vettius* a frende of his was sued, he tooke upon him to defend his cause in courte. The people that were present, and heard him speake, they leaped for joy to see him: for he had such an eloquent tongue, that all the Orators besides were but children to him. Hereupon the riche men began to be affrayed againe, and whispered among them selves, that it behoved them to beware he came not to be Tribune. It chaunced so that he was chosen Treasurer, and it was his fortune to goe into the Ile of *SARDINIA*, with the Consul *Orestes*. His enemies were glad of that, and he him selfe was not sory for it. For he was a martiall man, and as skilfull in armes, as he was else an excellent Orator: but yet he was affrayed to come into the pulpit for Orations, and misliked to deale in matters of state, albeit he could not altogether deny the people, and his frends that prayed his furtherance. For this cause therfore he was very glad of this voyage, that he might absent him selfe for a time out of *ROME*: though divers were of opinion, that he was more popular, and desirous of the common peoples good will and favor, then his brother had bene before him. But in deede he was cleane contrarie: for it appeared that at the first he was drawen rather against his will, then of any speciall desire he had to deale in the common wealth. *Cicero* the Orator also sayth, that *Caius* was bent altogether to flie from office in the common wealth, and to live quietly as

Caius Gracchus maners.

Caius Gracchus Quaestor in *Sardinia*.

Caius Gracchus vision and dreame.

a privat man. But *Tiberius* (*Caius* brother) appeared to him in his sleepe, and calling him by his name, sayd unto him: brother, why doest thou prolong time, for thou canst not possiblilie escape? For we were both predestined to one maner of life & death, for procuring the benefite of the people. Now when *Caius* arrived in *SARDINIA*, he shewed all the proofes that might be in a valliant man, and excelled all the young men of his age, in hardines against his enemies, in justice to his inferiors, and in love and obedience towards the Consul his Captaine: but in temperaunce, sobrietie, and in painfulness, he excelled all them that were elder then he. The winter by chaunce fell out very sharpe, and full of sickenes in *SARDINIA*: whereupon the Consul sent unto the cities to helpe his souldiers with some clothes: but the townes sent in poste to *ROME*, to pray the Senate they might be discharged of that burden. The Senate found their allegacion reasonable, whereupon they wrote to the Consul to finde some other meanes to clothe his people. The Consul coulde make no other shift for them, and so the poore souldiers in the meane time smarted for it. But *Caius Gracchus* went him selfe unto the cities and so perswaded them, that they of them selves sent to the *ROMANES* campe such thinges as they lacked. This being caried to *ROME*, it was thought straight it was a pretie beginning to creepe into the peoples favor, and in dede it made the Senate also affrayed. In the necke of that, there arrived Ambassadors of *AFRICKE* at *ROME*, sent from king *Micipsa*, who told the Senate that the king their maister, for *Caius Gracchus* sake, had sent their armie corne into *SARDINIA*. The Senators were so offended withall, that they thrust the Ambassadors out of the Senate, and so gave order that other souldiers shoulde be sent in their places that were in *SARDINIA*: and that *Orestes* should still remaine Consul there, meaning also to continue *Caius* their Treasurer.

But when he hearde of it, he straight tooke sea, and returned to ROME in choller. When men saw *Caius* returned to ROME unlooked for, he was reprov'd for it not onely by his enemies, but by the common people also: who thought his returne verie straunge before his Captaine, under whom he was Treasurer. He being accused hereof before the Censors, prayed he might be heard. So, aunsw'ring his accusation, he so turned the peoples mindes that heard him, that they all sayd he had open wrong. For he told them, that he had served twelve yeares in the warres, where others were enforced to remaine but ten yeres: and that he had continued Treasurer under his Captaine, the space of three yeares, where the law gave him libertie to returne at the end of the yeare. And that he alone of all men else that had bene in the warres, had caried his purse full, and brought it home empty: where others having dronke the wyne which they caried thither in vessells, had afterwarde brought them home full of gold and silver. Afterwards they went about to accuse him as accessarie to a conspiracie, that was revealed in the citie of FREGELLES. But having cleared all that suspicion, and being discharged, he presently made sute to be Tribune: wherein he had all the men of qualitie his sworne enemies. On thother side also he had so great favor of the common people, that there came men out of all partes of ITALIE to be at his election, and that such a number of them, as there was no lodging to be had for them all. Furthermore, the field of *Mars* not being large enough to hold such a multitude of people, there were that gave their voyces upon the toppe of houses. Nowe the noble men coulde no otherwise let the people of their will, nor prevent *Caius* of his hope, but where he thought to be the first Tribune, he was only pronounced the fourth. But when he was once possest officer, he became immediatly the chiefe man, because

Caius Gracchus returneth out of Sardinia unto Rome.

Caius Gracchus, Tribune of the people.

he was as eloquent as any man of his time. And furthermore, he had a large occasion of calamity offered him: which made him bolde to speake, bewailing the death of his brother. For what matters soever he spake of, he alwayes fell in talke of that, remembring them what matters had passed: and laying before them the examples of their auncesters: who in olde time had made warre with the PHALISCES, by the meanes of one *Genutius* Tribune of the people, unto whom they had offered injurie: who also did condemne *Caius Veturius* to death, bicause that he onely woulde not geve a Tribune place, comming through the market place. Where these sayd he, that standing before you in sight, have slaine my brother *Tiberius* with staves, and have dragged his bodie from the mount of the Capitoll, all the citie over, to throw it into the river: and with him also have most cruellie slaine all his frendes they coulede come by, without any lawe or justice at all. And yet by an auncient custome of long time observed in this citie of ROME, when any man is accused of treason, and that of duety he must appeare at the time appointed him: they doe notwithstanding in the morning sende a trompet to his house, to summone him to appeare: and moreover the Judges were not wont to condemne him, before this ceremony was performed: so carefull and respective were our predecessors, where it touched the life of any ROMANE. Now *Caius* having first stirred up the people with these perswasions (for he had a marvelous lowde voyce) he preferred two lawes.

Caius Gracchus lawes.

The first, that he that had once bene put out of office by the people, should never after be capable of any other office.

The seconde, that if any Consul had banished any citizen without lawefull accusation, the sentence and hearing of the matter should pertain to the people.

The first of these two lawes did plainly defame *Octav-*

ius, whom *Tiberius* his brother had by the people deposed from the Tribunshippe. The seconde also touched *Popilius*, who being Prætor, had banished his brother *Tiberius* frendes: whereuppon he stayed not the triall, but willingly exiled him selfe out of ITALIE. And touching the first law, *Caius* him selfe did afterwards revoke it, declaring unto the people, that he had saved *Octavius* at the request of his mother *Cornelia*. Thé people were verie glad of it, and confirmed it, honoring her no lesse for respect of her sonnes, then also for *Scipioes* sake her father. For afterwards they cast her image in brasse, and set it up with this inscription: *Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi*. Many common matters are found written touching *Cornelia* his mother, and eloquently pleaded in her behalfe, by *Caius* against her adversaries. As when he sayd unto one of them: how darest thou presume to speake evill of *Cornelia*, that had *Tiberius* to her sonne? And the other partie also that slandered her, being sorely suspected for a Sodomite: and art thou so impudent, sayd he, to shew thy face before *Cornelia*? Hast thou brought foorth children as she hath done? And yet it is wel knownen to all men in ROME, that she being but a woman, hath lived longer without a man, than thou that art a man. Thus were *Caius* words sharpe and stinging, and many such like are to be gathered out of his wrytinges. Furthermore he made many other lawes afterwarde to increase the peoples authoritie, and to imbase the Senates greatnes.

Cornelia,
mother of the
Gracchi,
honored of
the people of
Rome.

The first was, for the restoring of the Colonies to ROME, in dividing the landes of the common wealth unto the poore citizens that should inhabite there.

Other lawes
preferred by
Caius Grac-
chus.

The other, that they shoulde apparell the souldiers at the charge of the common wealth, and that it should not be deducted out of their paye: and also, that no citizen should be billed to serve in the warres, under seventene yeares of age at the least.

An other law was, for their confederats of ITALIE: that through all ITALIE they shoulde have as free voyces in the election of any Magistrate, as the naturall citizens of ROME it selfe.

An other setting a reasonable price of the corne that should be distributed unto the poore people.

An other touching judgement, whereby he did greatly minish the authority of the Senate. For before, the Senators were onely Judges of all matters, the which made them to be the more honored and feared of the people, and the ROMANE Knights: & now he joynd three hundred ROMANE Knights unto the other three hundred Senators, and brought it so to passe, that all matters judiciall shoulde be equally judged, among those six hundred men. After he had passed this law, it is reported he was verie curious in observing all other thinges, but this one thing specially: that where all other Orators speaking to the people turned them towards the pallace where the Senators sate, and to that side of the market place which is called Comitium: he in contrarie manner when he made his Oration, turned him outwards towards the other side of the market place, and after that kept it constantly, and never failed. Thus, by a litle turning and altering of his looke only, he removed a great matter. For he so transferred all the government of the common wealth from the Senate, unto the judgement of the people: to teach the Orators by his example, that in their Orations they should behold the people, not the Senate. Now, the people having not only confirmed the law he made touching the Judges, but geven him also full power and authoritie to choose amonge the ROMANE Knightes suche Judges as he liked of: he founde thereby he had absolute power in his owne hands, insomuche as the Senators them selves did aske counsell of him. So did he ever geve good counsell, and did preferre matters meete for their

Caius Gracchus power.

honor. As amongst others, the lawe he made touching certaine wheate that *Fabius* Viceprætor had sent out of SPAYNE: which was a good and honorable acte. He perswaded the Senate that the corne might be solde, and so to send backe againe the money therof unto the townes and cities from whence the corne came: and therewithall to punish *Fabius* for that he made the Empire of ROME hatefull & intollerable unto the provinces and subjectes of the same. This matter wanne him great love and commendacion of all the provinces subject to ROME. Furthermore, he made lawes for the restoring of the decayed townes, for mending of high wayes, for building of garners for provision of corne. And to bring all these things to passe, he him selfe tooke upon him the only care and enterprise, being never wearied with any paines taken in ordering of so great affaires. For, he followed all those thinges so earnestly & effectually, as if he had had but one matter in hand: insomuch that they who most hated & feared him, wondred most to see his diligence & quicke dispatche in matters. The people also wondred muche to beholde him only, seeing alwaies suche a number of laborers, artificers, Ambassadors, officers, souldiers, and learned men, whom he easely satisfied and dispatched, keping still his estate, and yet using great curtesie and civilitie, entertaining every one of them privately: so that he made his accusers to be found lyers, that sayd he was a stately man, and very cruell. Thus he wanne the good will of the common people, being more popular and familiar in his conversation and deedes, then he was otherwise in his Orations. But the greatest paines and care he tooke upon him was, in seeing the high wayes mended, the which he woulde have as well done, as profitable done. For he would cast the cawcies by the lyne in the softest ground in the fields, and then woulde pave them with hard stone, and cast a great deale of gravell

*Other lawes
of Caius
Gracchus.*

*The Italian
myle contain-
eth eight fur-
long.*

upon it, which he caused to be brought thither. When he found any low or waterie places which the rivers had eaten into, he raised them up, or else made bridges over them, with an even height equall to either side of the cawcie: so that all his worke caried a goodly leavell withall even by the lyne or plummet, which was a pleasure to beholde it. Furthermore, he devided these high wayes by myles, every myle containing eight furlonges, and at every myles ende he set up a stone for a marke. At either end also of these high wayes thus paved, he set certaine stones of convenient height, a prety way a sunder, to helpe the travellers by to take their horse backs againe, without any helpe. The people for these things highly praising and extolling him, and being readie to make shew of their love and good will to him any maner of way: he told them openly one day in his Oration, that he had a request to make unto them, the which if it would please them to graunt him, he woulde thinke they did him a marvelous pleasure: and if they denied him also, he cared not muche. Then everie man thought it was the Consulshippe he ment to aske, and that he woulde sue to be Tribune and Consul together. But when the day came to choose the Consuls, every man looking attentively what he would doe: they marveled when they sawe him come downe the fielde of *Mars*, and brought *Caius Fannius* with his frends, to further his sute for the Consulshippe. Therein he served *Fannius* turne, for he was presently chosen Consul: and *Caius Gracchus* was the seconde time chosen Tribune againe, not of his owne sute, but by the good will of the people. *Caius* perceiving that the Senators were his open enemies, and that *Fannius* the Consul was but a slacke frende unto him, he began againe to currie favor with the common people, and to preferre new lawes, setting forth the lawe of the Colonies, that they should send of the poore citizens to replen-

*Caius Grac-
chus chosen
Tribune the
second time.*

ishe the cities of TARENTVM and CAPVA, and that they should graunt all the Latines the freedom of ROME. The Senate perceiving his power grew great, and that in the end he would be so strong that they could not withstande him: they devised a new & straunge way to plucke the peoples good will from him, in graunting them things not altogether very honest. There was one of the Tribunes, a brother in office with *Caius*, called *Livius Drusus*, *Livius Drusus one of the Tribunes.* a man nobely borne, and as well brought up as any other ROMANE: who for wealth and eloquence was not inferior to the greatest men of estimation in ROME. The chiefeſt Senators went unto him, and perswaded him to take parte with them against *Caius*, not to use any force or violence against the people to withstand them in any thing, but contrarily to graunt them those things which were more honestie for them to deny them with their ill will. *Livius* offering to pleasure the Senate with his authority, preferred lawes neither honorable nor profitable to the common wealth, and were to no other ende, but contending with *Caius*, who should most flatter the people of them two, as plaiers do in their common plaies, to shew the people pastime. Wherby the Senate shewed, that they did not so much mislike *Caius* doings, as for the desire they had to overthrow him and his great credit with the people. For where *Caius* preferred but the replenishing of the two cities, and desired to send the honestest citizens thither: they objected against him, that he did corrupt the common people. On the other side also they favored *Drusus*, who preferred a law that they should replenish twelve Colonies, and should send to every one of them three thowsande of the poorest citizens. And where they hated *Caius* for that he had charged the poore citizens with an annual rent for the lands that were devid-
Lawes preferred by Livius Drusus.
ed unto them: *Livius* in contrary maner did please them by disburdening them of that rent and payment, letting

*Livius Drusus pacifieth
the people a-
gainst the
Senate.*

them have the lands scotfree. Furthermore also, where *Caius* did anger the people, bicause he gave all the Latines the freedom of ROME to geve their voyces in choosing of Magistrates as freely as the naturall ROMANES: when *Drusus* on thother side had preferred a law that thencefoorth no ROMANE should whip any souldier of the Latines with rods to the warres, they liked the law, and past it. *Livius* also in every law he put forth, said in all his orations, that he did it by the counsell of the Senate, who were very careful for the profit of the people: and this was all the good he did in his office unto the common wealth. For by his meanes the people were better pleased with the Senate, and where they did before hate all the noble men of the Senate, *Livius* tooke away that malice, when the people saw that all he propounded, was for the preferment & benefit of the common wealth, with the consent and furtheraunce of the Senate. The only thing also that perswaded the people to thinke that *Drusus* ment uprightly, and that he only respected the profit of the common people was: that he never preferred any law for him selfe, or for his owne benefit. For in the restoring of these Colonies which he preferred, he alwaies sent other Commissioners, and gave them the charge of it, & would never finger any money him selfe: where *Caius* tooke upon him the charge and care of all things him selfe, and specially of the greatest matters. *Rubrius* also an other Tribune, having preferred a law for the reedifying and replenishing of CARTHAGE againe with people, the which *Scipio* had rased and destroyed: it was *Caius* hadde to be appointed one of the Commissioners for it. Whereupon he tooke shippe, and sailed into AFRIKE. *Drusus* in the meane time taking occasion of his absence, did as much as might be to seeke the favor of the common people, & specially by accusing *Fulvius*, who was one of the best frends *Caius* had, & whom they

had also chosen Commissioner with him for the division of these landes among the citizens, whom they sent to replenish these Colonies. This *Fulvius* was a seditious man, and therefore marvelously hated of the Senate, and withall suspected also of them that tooke parte with the people, that he secretly practised to make their confederats of ITALIE to rebell. But yet they had no evident prooffe of it to justifie it against him, more then that which he himselfe did verifie, bicause he semed to be offended with the peace and quietnes they enjoyed. And this was one of the chiefeſt causes of *Caius* overthrow, bicause that *Fulvius* was partely hated for his sake. For when *Scipio* AFRICAN was found dead one morning in his house, without any manifest cause how he should come to his death so sodainly: (saving that there appeared certaine blinde markes of stripes on his body that had bene geven him: as we have declared at large in his life) the most parte of the suspicion of his death was layed to *Fulvius*, being his mortall enemy, and bicause the same day they had bene at great wordes together in the pulpit for orations. So was *Caius Gracchus* also partly suspected for it. Howsoever it was, such a horrible murder as this, of so famous and worthy a man as any was in ROME, was yet notwithstanding never revenged, neither any inquirie made of it: bicause the common people would not suffer the accusacion to goe forward, fearing least *Caius* would be found in fault, if the matter should go forward. But this was a great while before. Now *Caius* at that time being in AFRICK about the reedifying and replenishing of the city of CARTHAGE againe, the which he named IVNONIA: the voice goeth that he had many ill signes and tokens appeared unto him. For the staffe of his ensigne was broken with a vehement blast of wind, and with the force of the ensigne bearer that held it fast on thother side. There came a flaw of winde also that caried away

Fulvius
Commis-
sioner with
Caius, a
verie sediti-
ous man.

The death of
Scipio Afri-
can the lesse.

Unluckie
signes ap-
pearing unto
Caius.

*This man is
named after-
wardes Opi-
mius.*

the sacrifices upon the aulters and blew them quite out of the circuite which was marked out for the compasse of the city. Furthermore, the woules came and tooke away the markes which they had set downe to limite the bonds of their circuite, and caried them quite away. This notwithstanding, *Caius* having dispatched all things in the space of three score and ten daies, he returned incontinently to ROME, understanding that *Fulvius* was oppressed by *Drusus*, and that those matters required his presence. For *Lucius Hostilius* that was all in all for the nobility, and a man of great credit with the Senate, being the yeare before put by the Consulshippe, by *Caius* practise, who caused *Fannius* to be chosen: he had good hope this yere to speede, for the great number of frends that furthered his sute. So that if he could obtaine it, he was fully bent to set *Caius* beside the saddle, and the rather, bicause his estimacion and countenaunce he was wont to have among the people, began now to decay, for that they were ful of such devises as his were: bicause there were divers others that preferred the like to please the people withal, and yet with the Senates great good will and favor. So *Caius* being returned to ROME, he removed from his house, and where before he dwelt in mount Palatine, he came now to take a house under the market place, to shew him selfe therby the lowlier & more popular, bicause many of the meaner sorte of people dwelt thereaboutes. Then he purposed to goe forward with the rest of his lawes, and to make the people to establish them, a great number of people repairing to ROME out of all parts for the furtherance thereof. Howbeit the Senate counselled the Consul *Fannius* to make proclamacion, that al those which were no natural ROMANES, resident and abiding within the city self of ROME: that they should depart out of ROME. Besides all this, there was a straunge proclamacion made, and never seene before:

that none of all the friends and confederates of the ROMANES, for certaine daies should come into ROME. But *Caius* on thother side set up bills on every post, accusing the Consul for making so wicked a proclamacion: and further, promised the confederates of ROME to aide them, if they would remaine there against the Consuls proclamacion. But yet he performed it not. For when he saw one of *Fannius* sergeaunts cary a friend of his to prison, he held on his way, and would see nothing, neither did he helpe him: either of likelyhoode bicause he feared his credit with the people, which began to decay, or else bicause he was loth (as he said) to picke any quarrell with his enemies, which sought it of him. Furthermore, he chaunced to fall at variance with his brethren the Tribunes, about this occasion. The people were to see the pastime of the sword plaiers or fencers at the sharp, within the very market place, and there were divers of the officers that to see the sport, did set up scaffoldes rounde about, to take money for the standing. *Caius* commaunded them to take them downe again, bicause the poore men might see the sport without any cost. But not a man of them would yeeld to it. Wherefore he staid till the night before the pastime should be, and then he tooke all his laborers he had under him, and went and overthrew the scaffoldes every one of them: so that the next morning all the market place was clere for the common people, to see the pastime at their pleasure. For this fact of his, the people thanked him marvelously, and tooke him for a worthie man. Howbeit his brethren the Tribunes were very much offended with him, and tooke him for a bold presumptuous man. This seemeth to be the chiefe cause why he was put from his third Tribuneship, where he had the most voices of his side: bicause his colleagues, to be revenged of the part he had plaid them, of malice and spight, made false report of the voices.

Caius Gracchus fell out with the Tribunes.

Caius Gracchus repulsed from the third Tribuneship.

Howbeit there is no great troth in this. It is true that he was very angry with this repulse, and it is reported he spake somewhat too prowdly to his enemies, that were mery with the matter, and laughed him to scorne: that they laughed a SARDONIANS laugh, not knowing how darkely his deedes had wrapt them in. Furthermore, his enemies having chosen *Opimius* Consul, they began immediatly to revoke divers of *Caius* lawes: as among the rest, his doings at CARTHAGE for the reedifying of that city, procuring thus all the waies they could to anger him, bicause they might have just occasion of anger to kil him. *Caius* notwithstanding did patiently beare it at the first: but afterwards his frends, and specially *Fulvius*, did encorage him so, that he began againe to gather men to resist the Consul. And it is reported also, that *Cornelia* his mother did help him in it, secretly hyring a great number of straungers which she sent unto ROME, as if they had bene reapers, or harvest men. And this is that she wrote secretly in her letter, unto her sonne in ciphers. And yet other write to the contrary, that she was very angry he did attempt those things. When the day came that they should proceede to the revocation of his lawes, both parties met by breake of day at the Capitoll. There when the Consul *Opimius* had done sacrifice, one of *Caius* sergeaunts called *Quintus Antyllius*, carying the intrals of the beast sacrificed, said unto *Fulvius*, and others of his tribe that were about him: give place to honest men, vile citizens that ye be. Some say also, that besides these injurious wordes, in skorne and contempt he held out his naked arme to make them ashamed. Whereupon they slue him presently in the field with great botkins to wryte with, which they had purposely made for that intent. Hereupon the common people were marvelously offended for this murther, and the chiefe men of both sides also were diversly affected. For *Caius* was very sory

Sedition betweene Caius Gracchus & the Senate.

Antyllius, C. Gracchus sergeaunt slaine.

for it, and bitterly reproved them that were about him, saying, that they had given their enemies the occasion they looked for, to set upon them. *Opimius* the Consul in contrary maner, taking this occasion, rose apon it, and did stirre up the people to be revenged. But there fell a shower of raine at that time that parted them. The next morning the Consul having assembled the Senate by breake of day, as he was dispatching causes within, some had taken the body of *Antyllius* and layed it naked upon the beere, & so caried it through the market place (as it was agreed upon before amongst them) & brought it to the Senate dore: where they began to make great mone and lamentacion, *Opimius* knowing the meaning of it, but yet he dissembled it, and seemed to wonder at it. Whereupon the Senators went out to see what it was, and finding this beere, in the market place, some fell a weeping for him that was dead, others cried out that it was a shamefull act, and in no wise to be suffred. But on the other side, this did revive the old grudge and malice of the people, for the wickednes of the ambitious noble men: who having themselves before slaine *Tiberius Gracchus* that was Tribune, and within the Capitoll it selfe, and had also cast his body into the river, did now make an honorable show openly in the market place, of the body of a sergeaunt *Antyllius* (who though he were wrongfully slaine, yet had himselfe geven them the cause that slue him, to do that they did) and all the whole Senate were about the beere to bewaile his death, and to honor the funeralls of a hyerling, to make the people also kill him, that was only left the protector and defender of the people. After this, they went againe unto the Capitoll, and there made a decree, wherby they gave the Consul *Opimius* extraordinary power and authority, by absolute power to provide for the safety of the common wealth, to preserve the city, and to suppress the tyrans. This

*An ordinance
made by the
Senate, a-
gainst C.
Gracchus.*

*The people
defended C.
Gracchus.*

decree being established, the Consul presently commaunded the Senators that were present there, to go arme them selves: and appointed the ROMANE Knights, that the next morning betimes every man should bring two of their men armed with them. *Fulvius* on the other side, he prepared his force against them, and assembled the common people together. *Caius* also returning from the market place, stayd before the image of his father, and looked earnestly apon it without ever a word speaking, only he burst out a weeping, and fetching a great sigh, went his way. This made the people to pitie him that saw him: so that they talked among them selves, that they were but beasts and cowards at such a straight to forsake so worthy a man. Therupon they went to his house, stayed there all night and watched before his gate: not as they did that watched with *Fulvius*, that passed away the night in guseling & drinking drunke, crying out, and making noyse, *Fulvius* him selfe being dronke first of all, who both spake and did many thinges farre unmeete for his calling. For they that watched *Caius* on thother side, were very sorowfull, and made no noyse, even as in a common calamitie of their contrie, devising with them selves what would fall out apon it, waking, and sleeping one after an other by turnes. When the day brake, they with *Fulvius* did awake him, who slept yet soundly for the wine he dranke over night, and they armed them selves with the spoiles of the GAVLES that hong rounde about his house, whom he had overcome in battell the same yeare he was Consul: & with great cries, & thundering threats, they went to take the mount Aventine. But *Caius* would not arme him selfe, but went out of his house in a long gowne, as if he woulde have gone simply into the market place according to his wonted maner, saving that he caried a short dagger at his girdel under his gowne. So as he was going out of his house, his wife

stayed him at the dore, and holding him by the one hand, and a litle child of his in her other hand, she sayd thus unto him: "Alas *Caius*, thou doest not now goe as thou wert wont, a Tribune into the market place to speake to the people, neither to preferre any new lawes: neither doest thou goe unto an honest warre, that if unfortunately that shoulde happen to thee that is common to all men, I might yet at the least mourne for thy death with honor. But thou goest to put thy selfe into bloodie butchers handes, who most cruelly have slaine thy brother *Tiberius*: and yet thou goest, a naked man unarmed, intending rather to suffer, then to doe hurt. Besides, thy death can bring no benefit to the common wealth. For the worser part hath now the upper hand, considering that sentence passeth by force of sword. Had thy brother bene slaine by his enemies, before the citie of *NVMANTIA*: yet had they geven us his bodie to have buried him. But such may be my misfortune, that I may presently go to pray the river or sea to geve me thy bodie, which as thy brothers they have likewise throwen into the same. Alas, what hope or trust is left us now, in lawes or gods, sithence they have slaine *Tiberius*?" As *Licinia* was making this pitiefull mone unto him, *Caius* fayer and softly pulled his hand from her, and left her, geving her never a word, but went on with his frends. But she reaching after him to take him by the gowne, fell to the ground, and lay flatling there a great while, speaking never a word: untill at length her servaunts tooke her up in a swoone, & caried her so unto her brother *Crassus*. Now *Fulvius*, by the perswasion of *Caius*, when all their faction were met: sent his younger sonne (which was a prety fayer boy) with a Heraulds rodde in his hand for his safetie. This boy humbly presenting his duetie, with the teares in his eyes, before the Consul and Senate, offred them peace. The most of them that were present thought verie well

*The words of
Licinia to her
husband
Caius Grac-
chus.*

*Fulvius sent
his sonne to
the Consull
with a Her-
aulds rodde
to offer peace.*

of it. But *Opimius* made aunswere saying, that it became them not to send messengers, thinking with fayer wordes to winne the Senate: but it was their duetie to come themselves in persons, like subjects and offenders to make their triall, and so to crave pardon, & to seeke to pacifie the wrath of the Senate. Then he commaunded the boy he should not returne againe to them, but with this condition he had prescribed. *Caius* (as it is reported) was ready to go and cleare him selfe unto the Senate: but the residue would not suffer him to go. Wheruppon *Fulvius* sent his sonne backe againe unto them, to speake for them as he had done before. But *Opimius* that was desirous to fight, caused the boy to be taken, and committed him in safe custodie, and then went presently against *Fulvius* with a great number of footemen well armed, and of CRETAN archers besides: who with their arrowes did more trouble and hurt their enemies, then with any thing else, that within a while they all began to flie. *Fulvius* on the other side fled into an old hottehouse that no body made reckoning of, and there being found shortly after, they slue him, and his eldest sonne. Now for *Caius*, he fought not at all, but being mad with him selfe, and grieved to see such bloodshed: he got him into the temple of *Diana*, where he would have killed him selfe, had not his very good frends *Pomponius* and *Licin-ius* saved him. For both they being with him at that time, tooke his sword from him, and counselled him to flie. It is reported that then he fell downe on his knees, and holding up both his hands unto the goddessse, he besought her that the people might never come out of bondage, to be revenged of this their ingratitude and treason. For the common people (or the most parte of them) plainly turned their coats, when they heard proclamacion made, that all men had pardon graunted them, that would returne. So *Caius* fled apon it, and his en-

*The death of
Fulvius and
his eldest
sonne.*

*The flight of
Caius.*

emies followed him so neere, that they overtooke him upon the wodden bridge, where two of his frends that were with him stayed, to defende him against his followers, and bad him in the meane time make shift for him selfe, whilst they fought with them upon the bridge: and so they did, and kept them that not a man got the bridge of them, untill they were both slaine. Nowe there was none that fled with *Caius*, but one of his men called *Philocrates*: notwithstanding, everie man did still encourage and counsell him, as they do men to winne a game, but no man would helpe him, nor offer him any horse, though he often required it, bicause he sawe his enemies so neere unto him. This notwithstanding, by their defence that were slaine upon the bridge, he got ground on them so, that he had leasure to crepe into a litle grove of wodde which was consecrated to the furies. There his servaunt *Philocrates* slue him, and then slue him selfe also, and fell dead upon him. Other write notwithstanding, that both the maister and servaunt were overtaken, and taken alive: and that his servaunt did so straight imbrace his maister that none of the enemies could strike him for all the blowes they gave, before he was slaine him selfe. So one of the murderers strake of *Caius Gracchus* head to carie to the Consul. Howbeit one of *Opimius* frendes called *Septimuleius*, tooke the head from the other by the way, bicause proclamacion was made before they fought by trompet, that whosoever brought the heades of *Fulvius* and *Caius*, they should be payed the weight of them in gold. Wherefore this *Septimuleius* caried *Caius* head upon the toppe of his speare unto *Opimius*: where-uppon the skales being brought to wey it, it was found that it weyed seventeene pounce weight and two third partes of a pound, bicause *Septimuleius* besides the horrible murder he had committed, had also holpen it with this villanie, that he had taken out his braine, and in

The faithfulness of Caius Gracchus servaunt.

lied thereof had filled his scull with lead. Now the other also that brought *Fulvius* head, because they were poore men, they had nothing. The bodies of these two men, *Caius Gracchus* and *Fulvius*, and of other their followers (which were to the number of three thowsand that were slaine) were all throwen into the river, their goods confiscate, and their widowes forbidden to mourne for their death. Furthermore, they tooke from *Licinia Caius* wife, her joynter: but yet they delt more cruelly and beastly with the young boy, *Fulvius* sonne: who had neither lift up his hand against them, nor was in the fight among them, but only came to them to make peace before they fought, whom they kept as prisoner, and after the battell ended, they put him to death. But yet that which

The temple of concord built by Opimius the Consul.

most of all other grieved the people, was the temple of concorde, the which *Opimius* caused to be built: for it appeared that he boasted, and in maner triumphed, that he had slaine so many citizens of ROME. And therefore there were that in the night wrote under the inscription of the temple these verses:

*A furious fact and full of beastly shame,
This temple built, that beareth concordes name.*

Opimius the first Consul, usurping the power of the Dictator.

This *Opimius* was the first man at ROME, that being Consul, usurped the absolute power of the Dictator: and that without law or justice condemned three thowsand citizens of ROME, besides *Fulvius Flaccus*, (who had also bene Consul, and had received the honor of triumphe) and *Caius Gracchus* a young man in like case, who in vertue and reputacion excelled all the men of his yeares.

Opimius bribed with money of Jugurthe, and condemned.

This notwithstanding, coulde not keepe *Opimius* from theverie and extorcion. For when he was sent Ambassador unto *Jugurthe* king of NVMDIA, he was bribed with money: and therupon being accused, he was most shamefully convicted, and condemned. Wherefore he

ended his dayes with this reproch and infamy, hated, and mocked of all the people: bicause at the time of the overthrow he delt beastly with them that fought for his quarrell. But shortly after, it appeared to the world, how much they lamented the losse of the two brethren of the *Gracchi*. For they made images and statues of them, and caused them to be set up in an open and honorable place, consecrating the places where they had bene slaine: and many of them also came and offred to them, of their first frutes and flowers, according to the time of the yere, and went thither to make their prayers on their knees, as unto the temples of the gods. Their mother *Cornelia*, as writers report, did beare this calamity with a noble hart: and as for the chappells which they built and consecrated unto them in the place where they were slaine, she said no more, but that they had such graves, as they had deserved. Afterwardes she dwelt continually by the mount of Misene, and never chaunged her manner of life. She had many frends, and bicause she was a noble Ladie, and loved ever to welcome straungers, she kept a very good house, and therefore had alwayes great repaire unto her, of GRÆCIANS and learned men: besides, there was no king nor Prince, but both received giftes from her, and sent her againe. They that frequented her company, delighted marvelously to heare her report the dedes and maner of her fathers life, *Scipio* AFRICAN: but yet they wondred more, to heare her tell the actes and death of her two sonnes, *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi*, without sheading teare, or making any shew of lamentacion or griefe, no more then if she had told an history unto them that had requested her. Insomuch some writers report, that age, or her great misfortunes, had overcome and taken her reason and sence from her, to feele any sorowe. But in deede they were senselesse to say so, not understandinge, howe that to be noblie borne, and

The Gracchi were marvelously desired of the people.

The magnanimity of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi.

*The power of
learning to
overcome sor-
row.*

vertuouslie brought up, doth make men temperatly to disgest sorow, and that fortune oftentimes overcomes vertue, which regardeth honestie in all respectes, but yet with any adversity she can not take away the temperaunce from them, whereby they patiently beare it.

THE COMPARISON OF TIBERIVS AND CAIVS GRACCHI WITH AGIS AND CLEOMENES.

*The wisdom
of the Grac-
chi.*

NOW that we be come to the end of this history, we are to compare the lives of these two men the one with the other. First, as touching the two *Gracchi*: their enemies that most hated them, and spake the worst they could of them, could not deny but that they were the best geven to vertue, and as well taught and brought up, as any *ROMANES* that were in their time. But yet it appeareth, that nature had the upper hand of them, in *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they having bene very ill brought up, both for learning and good manners, for lacke whereof the oldest men were almost spoyled: yet did they notwithstandinge make them selves the first maisters and example of sobrietie, temperaunce, and simplicitie of life. Furthermore, the two first having lived in that time, when *ROME* florished most in honor and vertuous desires: they were more then ashamed to forsake the vertues inherited from their auncestors. These two last also being borne of fathers that had a cleane contrarie disposicion, & finding their contrie altogether without any order, and infected with dissolute life: were not therefore any whit the more slack in their desire to do well. Furthermore, the greatest praise they gave unto the two *Gracchi*, was, their abstinence & integritie from

taking of money all the time they were in office, and delt in matters of state, ever keeping their handes cleane, and tooke not a pennie wrongfully from any man. Where *Agis* on thother side was offended if any man praised him, for that he tooke nothing from an other man: seeing that he dispossessed him selfe of his owne goods, and gave it to his citizens, which amounted in readie coyne to the value of six hundred talents. Whereby men may easely judge, how grievous a sinne he thought it to take any thing wrongfully from any man: seeing that he thought it a kinde of avarice, lawfully to be richer then others. Furthermore, there was marvelous great difference in their alteracions, and renuing of the state, which they did both preferre. For the actes of the two ROMANES were to mend high wayes, and to reedifie and replenish decayed townes: and the worthiest acte *Tiberius* did, was the lawe Agraria, which he brought in for dividing of the lands of the common wealth amongst the poore Citizens. And the best acte his brother *Caius* also did, was the mingling of the Judges: adding to the three hundred Senators, three hundred ROMANE knightes to be indifferent Judges with them. Whereas *Agis* and *Cleomenes* in contrary manner were of opinion, that to reforme smal faults, and to redresse them by litle and litle, was (as *Plato* sayd) to cut of one of the Hydræes heads, of the which came afterwards seven in the place: and therefore they tooke upon them a chaunge and innovation, even at once to roote out all the mischiefs of their contry, (or to speake more truely, to take away the disorder which brought in all vice and mischief to the common wealth) and so to restore the citie of SPARTA againe to her former auncient honorable estate. Nowe this may be said againe, for the government of the GRACCHI: that the chiefeest men of ROME were ever against their purposes. Where, in that that *Agis* attempted, and *Cle-*

*The Actes of
the Gracchi
did little pro-
fit Rome.*

*The ende of
the Gracchi
unfortunate.*

*The deedes of
the Gracchi.*

omenes ended, they had the nobleſt ground that could be, and that was the auncient lawes and ordinances of SPARTA, touching temperance and equalitie: the firſt, inſtituted in old time by *Lycurgus*, the other confirmed by *Apollo*. Furthermore, by the alteracions of the firſt, ROME became no greater then it was before. Where, by that which *Cleomenes* did, all GRÆCE in ſhort time ſawe that SPARTA commaunded all the reſt of PELOPONNESVS, and fought at that time againſt thoſe that were of greateſt power in all GRÆCE, for the ſigniorie thereof. Whereby their onely marke and purpoſe was, to rid all GRÆCE from the warres of the GAVLES and ILLYRIANS, and to reſtore it againe to the honeſt government of the race and lynce of *Hercules*. Their deathes, me thinkes, doe ſhew great difference of their corages. For the GRACCHI fighting with their owne Citizens, were ſlaine flying. Of theſe two alſo, *Agis*, becauſe he would put never a Citizen to death, was ſlayne in manner voluntarily: and *Cleomenes* receiving injurie ſtoode to his defence, and when he had no oportunitie to doe it, he ſtowntly killed him ſelfe. And ſo may it be ſaid on thother ſide, that *Agis* did never any noble acte of a Captaine or ſouldier, becauſe he was ſlayne before he could come to it. And for the victories of *Cleomenes* on thother ſide, may be opposed the ſcaling of the walls of CARTHAGE, where *Tiberius* was the firſt man that at the aſſault got up upon the wall, which was no ſmall exployte: and the peace which he made alſo at the ſeege of NVMANTIA, whereby he ſaved twenty thouſand fighting men of the ROMANES, the which had no meanes otherwiſe to ſave their lives. And *Caius* alſo in the ſelfe ſame warre, at the ſeege of NVMANTIA, and afterwards in SARDINIA, did many noble feates of warre: ſo that there is no doubt, but if they had not bene ſlaine ſo ſoone as they were, they might have bene compared with the excellenteſt Captaines that ever were in ROME.

Again, touching their doings in civill pollicie, it appeareth that *Agis* delt more slackly, being abused by *Agesilaus*: who likewise deceived the poore Citizens of the division of the landes which he had promised them. In fine, for lacke of corage, bicause he was very young, he left the thinges undone which he had purposed to have performed. On thother side, *Cleomenes* went too rowndly to worke to renew the auncient government of the common wealth againe, by killing the Ephores with too much crueltie, whom he might easily have wonne, or otherwise by force have gotten the upper hande. For it is not the parte of a wise Phisition, nor of a good governor of a common weale to use the sword, but in great extreamitie, where there is no other helpe nor remedie: & there lacked judgement in them both, but worst of all in the one, for injury is ever joyned with crueltie. The GRACCHI on thother side, nether the one nor the other, began to embrew their hands in the blood of their Citizens. For it is reported, that though they did hurt *Caius*, yet he would never defend him selfe: and where it was known that he was very valliant in battell with his sword in his hand against the enemie, he shewed him selfe as cold againe in the uprore against his Citizens. For he went out of his house unarmed, and fled when he saw them fight: being more circumspect not to doe hurt, then not to suffer any. Therefore they are not to be thought cowards for their flying, but rather men fearefull to offend any man. For they were driven, either to yeeld to them that followed them, or els if they stayed, to stande to their defence, bicause they might keepe them selves from hurt. And where they accuse *Tiberius* for the faults he committed, the greatest that ever he did, was when he deposed *Octavius* his colleague from the Tribuneship, and that he him selfe made sute for the second. And as for *Caius*, they falsely accused him for the death of *Antyllius*

*The faultes
of the Grac-
chi.*

the Sergeaunt, who in deede was slayne unknowen to him, and to his great grieve. Where *Cleomenes* on thother side, although we should forget the murder he committed upon the Ephores, yet he set slaves at libertie, and ruled the kingdom in manner him selfe alone: but yet for manners sake onely he joyned his owne brother with him, which was of the selfe same house. And when he had perswaded *Archidamus*, (who was next heire to the kingdom of the other royall house) to be bold to returne home from MESSENÀ unto SPARTA: he suffered him to be slayne, and bicause he did not revenge his death, he did confirme their opinion that thought he was consenting to his death. *Lycurgus* on the other side, whose example he did counterfeate to followe, bicause he did willingly resigne the kingdom unto his brothers sonne *Charilaus*, and being afrayd also, that if the young child should chaunce to miscary, they would suspect him for his death: he exiled him selfe out of his owne contry a long time, travelling up and downe, and returned not to SPARTA againe, before *Charilaus* had gotten a sonne to succede him in his kingdom. But we can not set another GRÆCIAN by *Lycurgus* comparable unto him. We have declared also that amongst *Cleomenes* deedes, there were many other greater alteracions then these, and also many other breaches of the lawe. So they that doe condemne the manners of the one and the other, say, that the two GRÆCIANS from the beginning had an aspyring minde to be tyrannes, still practising warres. Whereas the two ROMANES onely, even by their most mortall enemies, could be blamed for nothing els, but for an extreame ambition, and did confesse that they were too earnest and vehement above their nature, in any strife or contencion they had with their adversaries, and that they yelded unto that choller and passion, as unto ill windes, which brought them to doe those thinges they did in the

ende. For what more just or honest intent could they have had, then the first was: had not the riche men (even through stowtnes and authoritie to overthrow the lawes) brought them against their wills into quarrell: the one to save his life, the other to revenge his brothers death, who was slayne without order, justice, or the authoritie of any officer? Thus thou maiest thy selfe see the difference, that was betwene the GRÆCIANS and ROMANES: and nowe to tell you plainly my opinion of both, I think that *Tiberius* was the stowtest of the foure, that the younge king *Agis* offended least, and that for boldnes and corage, *Caius* came nothing neare unto *Cleomenes*.

The end of the life of Tiberius and Caius Gracchi.



THE LIFE OF Demosthenes

*True happi-
nes consisteth
in the minde
and manners
of man, not in
any place or
contry.*

HE that made the litle booke of the praise of *Alcibiades*, touching the victorie he wanne at the horse rase of the Olympian games, (were it the Poet *Euripides* as some thinke, or any other) my friende *Sossius*: sayde, that to make a man happy, he must of necessitie be borne in some famous citie. But to tell you what I thinke hereof, douteles, true happines chiefly consisteth in the vertue and qualities of the minde, being a matter of no moment, whether a man be borne in a pelting village, or in a famous citie: no more then it is for one to be borne of a fayer or fowle mother. For it were a madnes to thinke that the litle village of *IVLIDE*, being the least part of the Ile of *CEO* (the whole Iland of it selfe being but a small thing) and that the Ile of *ÆGINA* (which is of so smal a

length, that a certaine ATHENIAN on a time made a motion it might be taken away, bicause it was but as a strawe in the sight of the haven of Piræa) could bring forth famous Poets, and excellent Comediants: and not breede an honest, just, and wise man, and of noble corage. For, as we have reason to thinke that artes and sciences which were first devised and invented to make some thinges necessary for mens use, or otherwise to winne fame and credit, are drowned, and cast away in litle poore villages: So are we to judge also, that vertue, like a strong and frutefull plant, can take roote, and bringe forth in every place, where it is graffed in a good nature, and gentle person, that can patiently away with paines. And therefore if we chaunce to offend, and live not as we should: we can not accuse the meanenes of our contry where we were borne, but we must justly accuse our selves. Surely he that hath taken upon him to put forth any worke, or to write any historie, into the which he is to thrust many straunge things unknownen to his contry, and which are not ready at his hand to be had, but dispersed abroad in divers places, and are to be gathered out of divers bookes and authorities: first of all, he must needes remaine in some great and famous citie thoroughly inhabited, where men doe delight in good and vertuous thinges, bicause there are commonly plenty of all sortes of bookes: and that perusing them, and hearing talke also of many things besides, which other Historiographers peradventure have not written of, and which will cary so much more credit, bicause men that are alive may presently speake of them as of their owne knowledge, whereby he may make his worke perfect in every poynt, having many and divers necessary things conteyned in it. But I my selfe that dwell in a poore litle towne, and yet doe remayne there willingly least it should become lesse: whilest I was in ITALY, and at ROME, I had no leysure to study and exercise the

*Expedient
for an Hist-
oriographer
to be in a
famous citie.*

*Plutarkees
contry very
litle.*

Latine tongue, as well for the great busines I had then to doe, as also to satisfie them that came to learne Philosophie of me: so that even somewhat too late, and now in my latter time, I began to take my Latine bookes in my hand. And thereby, a straunge thing to tell you, but yet true: I learned not, nor understood matters so much by the words, as I came to understand the words, by common experience and knowledge I had in things. But furthermore, to knowe howe to pronounce the Latin tongue well, or to speake it readily, or to understand the signification, translations, and fine joyning of the simple words one with another, which doe bewtifie & set forth the tongue: surely I judge it to be a marvailous pleasant and sweete thing, but withall it requireth a long & labor-some study, meete for those that have better leysure then I have, and that have young yeares on their backes to follow such pleasure. Therefore, in this present booke, which is the fift of this work, where I have taken upon me to compare the lives of noble men one with another: undertaking to write the lives of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, we will consider and examine their nature, manners and condicions, by their acts and deedes in the government of the common wealth, not meaning otherwise to conferre their workes and writings of eloquence, nether to define which of them two was sharper or sweeter in his oration. For, as the Poet *Ion* sayth,

*In this behalfe a man may rightly say,
The Dolphynes in their proper soyle doe play.*

The which *Cæcilius* litle understanding, being a man very rashe in all his doings, hath unadvisedly written and set forth in print, a comparison of *Demosthenes* eloquence, with *Ciceroes*. But if it were an easie matter for every man to know him selfe, then the goddes needed have given us no commaundement, nether could men have said that

*Demosthenes
compared
with Cicero.*

it came from heaven. But for my opinion, me thinks fortune even from the beginning hath framed in maner one self mowld of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, and hath in their natures facioned many of their qualities one like to the other: as, both of them to be ambitious, both of them to love the libertie of their contry, and both of them very feareful in any daunger of warres. And likewise their fortunes seeme to me, to be both much alike. For it is harde to finde two Orators againe, that being so meanelly borne as they, have comen to be of so great power and authoritie as they two, nor that have deserved the ill will of kings and noble men so much as they have done, nor that have lost their Daughters, nor that have been banished their contries, and that have bene restored againe with honor, and that againe have fled, and have bene taken againe, nor that have ended their lives with the libertie of their contry. So that it is hard to be judged, whether nature have made them liker in manners, or fortune in their doings, as if they had both like cunning workemaisters strived one with the other, to whome they should make them best resemble. But first of all we must write of the elder of them two.

Demosthenes the father of this Orator *Demosthenes*, was *The parent-as Theopompus* writeth, one of the chiefe men of the citie, *age of Demosthenes.* and they called him *Macharopæus*, to wete, a maker of sworde blades, bicause he had a great shoppe where he kept a number of slaves to forge them. But touching *Æschynes* the Orators report of his mother, who said that she was the Daughter of one *Gelon* (that fled from *ATHENS* beeing accused of treason) and of a barbarous woman that was her mother: I am not able to say whether it be true, or devised of malice to doe him despite. Howsoever it was, it is true that his father died, leaving *The patrimony left Demosthenes.* him seven yeare olde, and left him reasonable wel: for his goods came to litle lesse then the value of fifteene

talents. Howbeit his gardians did him great wronge: for they stole a great parte of his goods them selves, and did let the rest runne to naught, as having litle care of it, for they would not pay his schoolemaisters their wages. And this was the cause that he did not learne the liberall sciences which are usually taught unto honest mens sonnes: and to further that want also, he was but a weakling, and very tender, and therefore his mother would not much let him goe to schoole, nether his masters also durst keepe him too hard to it, because he was but a sickly childe at the first, and very weake. And it is reported al-

Demosthenes why he was called Battalus.

so, that the surname of *Battalus* was given him in mockery by other schoole boyes his companions, because of his weaknes of bodye. This *Battalus* (as divers men doe report) was an effeminate player on the flute, against whom the Poet *Antiphanes* to mocke him, devised a litle play. Others also doe write of one *Battalus*, a dissolute Orator, and that wrote lascivious verses: and it seemeth that the ATHENIANS at that time did call a certaine part of mans body uncomely to be named, *Battalus*. Now for *Argas* (which surname men say was also given him) he was so called, either for his rude and beastly maners, (because some Poets doe call a snake *Argas*) or els for his manner of speech, which was very unpleasant to the eare: for *Argas* is the name of a Poet, that made alwayes bawdy and ill favored songs. But hereof enough as *Plato* said. Furthermore, the occasion (as it is reported) that moved

Demosthenes, why surnamed Argas.

Calistratus the Orator.

him to give him selfe to eloquence, was this. *Calistratus* the Orator was to defend the cause of one *Oropus* before the Judges, and every man longed greatly for this daye of pleading, both for the excellencie of the Orator, that then bare the bell for eloquence: as for the matter, and his accusation, which was manifestly knowen to all. *Demosthenes* hearing his schoolemasters agree together to goe to the hearing of this matter, he prayed his schoolemaster

to be so good, as to let him goe with him. His Maister graunted him, and being acquainted with the keepers of the hal dore where this matter was to be pleaded, he so intreated them, that they placed his scholler in a very good place, where being set at his ease, he might both see and heare all that was done, and no man could see him. Thereuppon, when *Demosthenes* had heard the case pleaded, he was greatly in love with the honor which the Orator had gotten, when he sawe howe he was wayted upon home with such a trayne of people after him: but yet he wondred more at the force of his great eloquence, that could so turne and convey all thinges at his pleasure.

Thereuppon he left the studie of all other sciences, and all other exercises of witte and bodye, which other children are brought up in: and beganne to labor continually, and to frame him selfe to make orations, with intent one day to be an Orator amonge the rest. His Maister that taught him Rethoricke was *Isæus*, notwithstanding that *Isocrates* also kept a schoole of Rethoricke at that time: either bicause that beeing an orphan he was not able to paye the wages that *Isocrates* demaunded of his schollers, which was ten Minas: or rather for that he founde *Isæus* manner of speeche more proper for the use of the eloquence he desired, bicause it was more finer, and sutler. Yet *Hermippus* writeth notwithstanding, that he had red certayne bookes, having no name of any author, which declared that *Demosthenes* had bene *Platoes* scholler, and that by hearing of him, he learned to frame his pronounciation and eloquence. And he writeth also of one *Ctesibius*, who reporteth that *Demosthenes* had secretly redde *Isocrates* workes of Rethoricke, and also *Alcidamus* bookes, by meanes of one *Callias* SYRACVSAN, and others. Wherefore when he came out of his wardeshippe, he beganne to put his gardians in sute, and to write orations and pleas against them: who in contrary manner

The earnest desire of Demosthenes to learne eloquence.

Isæus, Demosthenes schole master of Rethorike.

Demosthenes first practise in drawing and penning of orations.

*A remedie
for the paine
of the splene.*

*Demosthenes
mocked of the
people for his
long orations.*

did ever use delayes and excuses, to save them selves from giving up any accompt unto him, of his goods and patrimony left him. And thus, following this exercise (as *Thucydides* writeth) it prospered so well with him, that in the ende he obtayned it, but not without great paynes and daunger: and yet with all that he could doe, he could not recover all that his father left him, by a good deale. So having now gotten some boldnes, and being used also to speake in open presence, and withall, having a feeling and delight of the estimation that is wonne by eloquence in pleading: afterwards he attempted to put forward him selfe, and to practise in matters of state. For, as there goeth a tale of one *Laomedon* an ORCHOMENIAN, who having a grievous paine in the splene, by advise of the Phisitions was willed to runne long courses to helpe him: and that following their order, he became in the end so lusty and nymble of body, that afterwards he would needes make one to ronne for games, and in deede grew to be the swiftest runner of all men in his time. Even so the like chaunced unto *Demosthenes*. For at the first, beginning to practise oratorie for recoverie of his goods, and thereby having gotten good skill & knowledge how to pleade: he afterwards tooke upon him to speake to the people in assemblies, touching the government of the common wealth, even as if he should have contended for some game of price, & at length did excell all the Orators at that time that got up into the pulpit for orations: notwithstanding that when he first ventred to speake openly, the people made such a noyse, that he could scant be heard, and besides they mocked him for his manner of speeche that was so straunge, bicause he used so many long confused peryods, and his matter he spake of was so intricate with arguments one upon another, that they were tedious, and made men weary to heare him. And furthermore, he had a very soft voice, an im-

pediment in his tongue, and had also a short breath, the which made that men could not well understand what he ment, for his long periods in his oration were oftentimes interrupted, before he was at the ende of his sentence. So that at length, perceiving he was thus rejected, he gave over to speake any more before the people, and halfe in dispaire withdrew him selfe into the haven of Piræa. There *Eunomus* the THESSALIAN beeing a very olde man, founde him, and sharpely reprovèd him, and told him that he did him selfe great wronge, considering, that having a manner of speeche much like unto *Pericles*, he drowned him selfe by his faynt harte, bicause he did not seeke the way to be bolde against the noyse of the common people, and to arme his body to away with the paines and burden of publike orations, but suffering it to growe feebler, for lacke of use & practise. Furthermore, being once againe repulsed and whistled at, as he returned home, hanging downe his heade for shame, and utterly discouraged: *Satyrus* an excellent player of comedies, being his famillier friende, followed him, and went and spake with him. *Demosthenes* made his complaynt unto him, that where he had taken more paynes then all the Orators besides, and had almost even worne him selfe to the bones with studie, yet he coulde by no meanes devise to please the people: whereas other Orators that did nothing but bybbe all day long, and Maryners that understoode nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occupied the pulpit with orations: and on thother side that they made no accompt of him. *Satyrus* then aunswered him, thou sayest true *Demosthenes*, but care not for this, I will helpe it straight, and take away the cause of all this: so thou wilt but tell me without booke certaine verses of *Euripides*, or of *Sophocles*. Thereuppon *Demosthenes* presently rehearsed some unto him, that came into his minde. *Satyrus* repeating them after him, gave them quite anoth-

*Demosthenes
impediments
of nature.*

*Demosthenes
celler.*

*Demosthenes
seldom plead-
ed on the sud-
dein.*

er grace, with such a pronounciation, comely gesture, and modest countenance becomming the verses, that *Demosthenes* thought them cleane chaunged. Whereby perceiuing how much the action (to wete, the comely manner and gesture in his oration) doth give grace & comelines in his pleading: he then thought it but a trifle, and almost nothing to speake of, to exercise to pleade well, unles therewithall he doe also study to have a good pronounciation and gesture. Thereuppon he built him a celler under the ground, the which was whole even in my time, and he would daily goe downe into it, to facion his gesture and pronounciation, and also to exercise his voice, and that with such earnest affection, that oftentimes he would be there two or three monethes one after an other, and did shave his heade of purpose, because he durst not goe abroad in that sorte, although his will was good. And yet he tooke his theame & matter to declame apon, and to practise to pleade of the matters he had had in hande before, or els upon occasion of such talke as he had with them that came to see him, while he kept his house. For they were no sooner gone from him, but he went downe into his celler, and repeated from the first to the last all matters that had passed betwene him and his friendes in talke together, and alleaged also both his owne and their aunswers. And if peradventure he had bene at the hearing of any long matter, he would repeate it by him selfe: and would finely cowche and convey it into proper sentences, and thus chaunge and alter every way any matter that he had heard, or talked with others. Thereof came the opinion men had of him, that he had no very quicke capacitie by nature, & that his eloquence was not naturall, but artificially gotten with extreame labor. And for prooffe hereof, they make this probable reason, That they never sawe *Demosthenes* make any oration on the suddein, and that oftentymes when he was

sette in the assemblie, the people would call him by his name, to say his opinion touching the matter of counsell then in hand: Howbeit that he never rose upon their call, unles he had first studied the matter well he would speake of. So that all the other Orators would many times give him a tawnte for it: as *Pytheas* among other, that tawnting him on a tyme, tolde him, his reasons smelled of the lampe. Yea, replied *Demosthenes* sharply againe: so is there great difference, *Pytheas*, betwixt thy labor & myne by lampelight. And him selfe also speaking to others, did not altogether deny it, but told them plainly, that he did not alwaies write at length all that he would speake, *Demosthenes* in his oration
nether did he also offer to speake, before he had made briefes of that he would speake. He sayd furthermore, *Studieth to please the people.*
that it was a token the man loved the people well, that he would be carefull before what he would say to them. For this preparative (quod he) doth shewe that he doth honor and reverence them. In contrary manner also, he that passeth not how the people take his words, it is a plaine token that he despiseth their authoritie, and that he lacketh no good will (if he could) to use force against them, rather then reason and perswasion. But yet further to enlarge the proofes, that *Demosthenes* had no hart to make any oration on the suddein, they doe alleage this reason: that *Demades* many times rose upon the sodaine to mainteyne *Demosthenes* reasons, when the people otherwise did reje&ct him: and that *Demosthenes* on thother side did never rise to make *Demades* words good, which he had spoken in his behalfe. But now might a man aske againe: if *Demosthenes* was so timerous to speake before the people upon the sodaine: what ment *Æschines* then to say, that he was marvelous bold in his words. And how chaunceth it, that he rising upon the sodaine, did presently aunswer the Orator *Pytho* BIZANTINE in the field, that was very lusty in speech, (& rough like a veh-

ement running streame) against the ATHENIANS. And how chaunced it that *Lamachus* MYRRINÆIAN, having made an oration in the praise of *Philip* and *Alexander*, kings of MACEDON, in the which he spake all the ill he could of the THEBANS, and of the OLYNTHIANS, and when he had red and pronownced it in the open assembly of the Olympian games: *Demosthenes* apon the instant rising up on his feete, declared, as if he had red some historie, and poynted as it were with his finger unto all the whole assembly, the notable great service & worthy deedes the which the CHALCIDIANs had done in former times, for the benefit and honor of GRÆCE. And in contrary maner also, what mischief and inconvenience came by meanes of the flatterers, that altogether gave them selves to curry favor with the MACEDONIANS? With these and such like perswasions, *Demosthenes* made such sturre amongst the people, that the Orator *Lamachus* being affraid of the sodaine uprore, did secretly convey him selfe out of the assembly. But yet to tell you what I thinke, *Demosthenes* in my opinion facioning him selfe even from the beginning, to followe *Pericles* steppes and example, he thought that for other qualities he had, they were not so requisite for him, and that he would counterfeate his gravitie and sober countenance, and to be wise, not to speake over lightly to every matter at all adventures: Judging, that by that manner of wisdom he came to be great. And like as he would not let slippe any good occasion to speake, where it might be for his credit: so would he not likewise over rashely hazard his credit and reputacion to the mercy of fortune. And to prove this true, the orations which he made upon the sodaine without premeditacion before, doe shewe more boldnes and courage, then those which he had written, and studied long before: if we may beleeeve the reports of *Erasthenes*, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, and of the other comicall

Demosthenes
terrified *Lamachus*
in his
oration.

Poets. For *Eratosthenes* sayd, that he would be often carried away with choller and furie. *Demetrius* also sayth, that speaking one daye to the people, he sware a great othe in ryme, as if he had bene possessed with some diuine spirit, and sayd,

By sea and land, by rivers, springes, and Ponds.

There are also certaine comicall Poets that doe call him *Ropoperperethra*, as who would say, a great babbler that speaketh all thinges that commeth to his tongues ende. Another mocked him for too much affecting a figure of Rethoricke called, Antitheton: which is, opposicion, with saying, *Sic recepit sicut cepit*, (which signifieth, he tooke it as he found it.) In the use of this figure *Demosthenes* much pleased him selfe, unles the poet *Antiphanes* speaketh it of pleasure, deriding the counsel he gave the people, not to take the Ile of HALONESVS of king *Philip*, as of gift: but to receive it as their owne restored. And yet every body did graunt, that *Demades* of his owne naturall wit, without arte, was invincible: and that many times speaking upon the sodaine, he did utterly overthrow *Demosthenes* long studied reasons. And *Aristo*, of the Ile of CHIO, hath written *Theophrastus* judgement of the Orators of that time. Who being asked what maner of Orator he thought *Demosthenes*: he aunswered, worthy of this citie. Then again, how he thought of *Demades*: above this citie, said he. The same Philosopher writeth also, that *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN, (one of those that practised at that time in the common wealth) gave this sentence: that *Demosthenes* in deede was a great Orator, but *Phocions* tongue had a sharper understanding, bicause in fewe wordes, he comprehended much matter. And to this purpose, they say that *Demosthenes* him selfe said also, that as oft as he saw *Phocion* get up into the pulpit for orations to speake against him, he was wont to say to his

“Ουτως
ἀπέλαβεν
ὥσπερ
ἔλαβεν.
Μη λαμβάνειν
ἀλλὰ
ἀπολαμ-
βάνειν παρὰ
Φιλίππου
The naturall
eloquence of
Demades the
Orator.
Theophras-
tus judgement
of Orators.

Phocion cal-
led the axe of
Demosthenes
orations.

friends: see, the axe of my words riseth. And yet it is hard to judge, whether he spake that in respect of his tongue, or rather for the estimacion he had gotten, because of his great wisdom: thinking (as in deede it is true) that one word only, the twinckling of an eye, or a nod of his head of such a man (that through his worthines is attained to that credit) hath more force to perswade, then all the fine reasons and devises of Rethorick. But now for his bodily defects of nature, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN writeth, that he heard *Demosthenes* him selfe say, being very olde, that he did helpe them by these meanes. First, touching the stammering of his tongue, which was very fat, and made him that he could not pronounce all syllables distinctly: he did helpe it by putting of litle pybble stones into his mouth, which he found upon the sands by the rivers side, and so pronounced with open mouth the orations he had without booke. And for his smal and soft voice, he made that lowder, by running up steepe and high hills, uttering even with full breath some orations or verses that he had without booke. And further it is reported of him, that he had a great looking glasse in his house, and ever standing on his feete before it, he would learne and exercise him selfe to pronounce his orations. For prooffe hereof it is reported, that there came a man unto him on a time, and prayed his helpe to defend his cause, and tolde him that one had beaten him: and that *Demosthenes* sayd agayne unto him, I doe not beleeeve this is true thou tellest me, for surely the other did never beate thee. The playntif then thrusting out his voyce alowde, sayde: what, hath he not beaten me? yes, in deede, quod *Demosthenes* then: I beleeeve it now, for I heare the voyce of a man that was beaten in deede. Thus he thought, that the sound of the voyce, the pronounciation or gesture in one sort or other, were thinges of force to beleeeve or discredit that a man sayth. His counten-

Demosthenes
by industry
reformeth
his defects of
nature.

aunce when he pleaded before the people, did marvailously please the common sorte: but the noble men, and men of understanding, found it too base and meane, as *Demetrius Phalerius* sayde, amonge others. And *Hermippus* writeth, that one called *Æsion*, beeing asked of the auncient Orators, and of those of his tyme, aunswered: that every man that had seene them, would have wondered with what honor, reverence, and modestie, they spake unto the people: howbeit that *Demosthenes* orations (whosoever red them) were too artificiall and vehement. And therefore we may easily judge, that the orations *Demosthenes* wrote are very severe and sharpe. This notwithstanding, otherwhile he would give many pleasant and witty aunswers apon the sodain. As when *Demades* one day sayd unto him, *Demosthenes* will teach me: after the common proverbe, the sowe will teach *Minerva*. He aunswered straight againe: This *Minerva* not long since, was in Collytus streete, taken in adulterie. A certein theefe also called *Chalcus* (as much to say, as of copper) stepping forth to saye somewhat of *Demosthenes* late sitting up a nights, and that he wrote and studied the most part of the night by lampe light: in deede, quod *Demosthenes*, I know it grieves thee to see my lampe burne all night. And therefore, you, my Lords of *ATHENS*, me thinkes you should not wonder to see such robberies in your citie, considering we have theeves of copper, and the walles of our houses be but of claye. We could tell you of divers others of his like wittie and pleasant aunswers, but these may suffice for this present: and therefore we will proceede to consider further of his nature and conditions, by his actes and deedes in the affaires of the common wealth. Now *Demosthenes* first beginning when he came to deale in the affaires of the state, was in the time of the warre made with the *PHOCIANS*, as him selfe reporteth: and as appeareth further in his orations which he made againt

Demosthenes
countenance
and gesture
misliked of
the nobilitie.

Demosthenes
witty an-
swers.

The time of
Demosthenes
comming to
prattise in the
affayres of
the state.

*Displeasure
betwixt De-
mosthenes
and Midias.*

Philip: of the which, the last were made after the warre was ended, and the first doe touch also some particuler doings of the same. He made the oration against *Midias* when he was but 32. yeare old, and was of small countenance and reputation in the common wealth: the want whereof was the chieftest cause (as I thinke) that induced him to take money for the injury he had done him, and to let his action fall against him.

*He was not of a meeld and gentle mind,
But feerce and hastie to revenge by kind.*

*Demoſth-
enes, an en-
emy to the
Macedon-
ians.*

But, knowing that it was no small enterprise, nor that could take effect by a man of so small power & authoritie as him selfe, to overthrow a man so wealthy, so befriended, and so eloquent as *Midias*: he therfore yelded him selfe unto those, that did speake and intreate for him. Nether do I think that the three thowsand Drachmas which he received, could have brided the bitternes of his nature, if otherwise he had seene any hope or likelihood that he could have prevailed against him. Now at his first comming unto the common wealth, taking a noble matter in hand to speak against *Philip*, for the defence and maintenance of the lawes and liberties of the GRÆCIANS, wherein he handled him self so worthely: that in short space he wanne him marvelous fame for his great eloquence and plaine manner of speech. Thereby he was marvelously honored also through all GRÆCE, and greatly esteemed with the king of PERSIA: and *Philip* him self made more accompt of him, then of all the Orators in ATHENS, and his greatest foes which were most against him, were driven to confesse that they had to doe with a famous man. For, in the orations which *Æschines* & *Hyperides* made to accuse him, they write thus of him. And therefore I marvell what *Theopompus* ment, when he wrote that *Demoſthenes* had a suddell, unconstant mind,

and could not long continue with one kind of men, nor in one mind for matters of state. For in contrary maner, in my judgement, he continued constant still to the end, in one selfe maner and order, unto the which he had betaken him self at the beginning: and that not only he never chaunged all his life time, but to the contrary he lost his life, because he would be no chaungeling. For he did not like *Demades*, who to excuse him self for that he had oft turned coate in matters of government, said, that he went oftentimes against his own sayings, as matters fel out: but never against the benefit of the common wealth. And *Melanopus* also, who was ever against *Callistratus*, having his mouth stopped many times with money, he would up to the pulpit for orations, and tel the people, that in deede *Callistratus*, which mainteineth the contrary opinion against me, is mine enemy, and yet I yeld unto him for this time: for, the benefit of the common wealth must cary it. And another also, *Nicodemus* MESSENIAN, who being first of *Cassanders* side, toke part afterwards with *Demetrius*, and then said, that he did not speake against him selfe, but that it was meete he should obey his superiors. They can not detect *Demosthenes* with the like, that he did ever halt or yeld, either in word or deed: For he ever continued firme and constant in one mind in his orations. Insomuch that *Panætius* the Philosopher sayth, that the most part of all his orations are grounded upon this *maxime* and principle: that for it selfe, nothing is to be taken or accepted, but that which is honest. As the oration of the crowne, the which he made against *Aristocrates*: that also which he made for the franchises and freedom: and in fine, all his orations against *Philip* of MACEDON. And in all those he doth not perswade his contry men to take that which is most pleasant, easiest, or most profitable: but he proveth that oftentimes honestie is to be preferred above safetie or health. So that,

The constancy of Demosthenes defended against Theopompus.

Note the inconsistency and sottell evasion of these Orators.

Demosthenes preferreth honesty, as a speciall rule in his orations.

Demosthenes, a timorous man, and given to bribes.

had he in all his orations and doings, joyned to his honestie, curtesie, and francke speeche, valliantnes in warres, and cleane hands from briberye: he might deservedly have bene compared, not with *Myrocles*, *Polyeuctus*, *Hyperides* and such other Orators: but even with the highest, with *Cimon*, *Thucydides*, and *Pericles*. For *Phocion*, who tooke the worst way in government of the common wealth, bicause he was suspected that he tooke part with the MACEDONIANS: yet for valliantnes, wisdom and justice, he was ever thought as honest a man, as *Ephialtes*, and *Aristides*. But *Demosthenes* on thother side (as *Demetrius* sayth) was no man to trust to for warres, nether had he any power to refuse gifts and bribes. For, though he would never be corrupted with *Philip* king of MACEDON, yet he was bribed with gold and silver that was brought from the cities of SVSA and ECBATANA, and was very ready to praise & commend the deedes of their aunccestors, but not to follow them. Truely, yet was he the honestest man of all other Orators in his time, excepting *Phocion*. And besides, he did ever speake more boldely and plainely to the people then any man els, and would openly contrary their mindes, and sharpely reprove the ATHENIANS for their faultes, as appeareth by his orations. *Theopompus* also writeth, that the people on a time would have had him to accuse a man, whome they would needes have condemned. But he refusing to doe it, the people were offended, & did mutine against him. There-uppon he rising up, sayd openly unto them: my Lordes ATHENIANS, I will alwayes counsell ye to that which I thinke best for the benefit of the common wealth, although it be against your mindes: but falsely to accuse one, to satisfie your minds, though you commaund me, I wil not do it. Furthermore, that which he did against *Antiphon*, sheweth plainly, that he was no people pleaser, and that he did leane more unto the authoritie of the

Demosthenes franke speech in his orations.

Senate. For when *Antiphon* was quit by the people in an assemblie of the citie: *Demosthenes* notwithstanding tooke him, and called him againe into the Court of the Areopagites, and did not passe upon the peoples ill will, but there convinced him for promising *Philip* of MACEDON to burne the arsenall of ATHENS: so by sentence of that court he was condemned, and suffred for it. He did also accuse the Nunne *Theorides* for many lewd parts committed, and amongst others, for that she taught slaves to deceive their maisters: and so following the matter against her to death, she was condemned, and executed. It is thought also, that he made the oration *Apollodorus* *Demosthenes* spake against the Prætor *Timotheus*, and proved thereby orations that he was a detter to the common wealth, and so a which were naughty man: and that he wrote those orations also in- true and tituled unto *Formio* and *Stephanus*, for the which he was which false. justly reproved. For *Formio* pleaded against *Apollodorus* with the oration which *Demosthenes* selfe had made for him: which was even alike, as if out of one selfe cutlers shoppe, he had solde his enemies swords one to kil another. And for his knownen orations, those which he made against *Androtion*, *Timocrates*, and *Aristocrates*: he caused them to give them unto others, when he had not yet delt in matters of state. For in deede when he did put them forth, he was not passing seven or eight and twenty yeare olde. The oration which he made against *Aristogiton*, and the other also of libertie, against *Ctesippus* the sonne of *Chabrias*, he spake them, as he saith him selfe, (or as others write) openly unto the people, bicause he intended to mary *Chabrias* mother. Howbeit he did not, but married a SAMIAN woman, as *Demetrius Magnesius* writeth in his booke he made intituled *Synonyma*, and in that he wrote against *Æschines*: where he accuseth him that he delt falsely when he was Ambassador. It is not knownen whether it was ever recited or not, although

*Demoſthenes
doings a-
gainſt
Philip.*

Idomeneus writeth, that there lacked but thirtie voices onely to have quit *Æschines*. But in this me thinkes he spake not truely, and doth but conjecture it, by that the one and the other have sayd in their orations against the crowne, in the which, nether the one nor the other doe say precisely, that this accusation proceeded to judgement. But let other that lyst decide this doubt. Now before the warre beganne, it was evident enough, to which parte *Demoſthenes* would incline in the common wealth: For, he would never leave to reprove and withstand *Philip*s doings. Therefore he being more spoken of in *Philip*s Court, then any man els, he was sent unto him the tenth person with nyne others in ambassade. *Philip* gave them all audience one after an other: howbeit he was more carefull and circumspect to aunswer *Demoſthenes* oration, then all the rest. But otherwise out of that place, he did not *Demoſthenes* so much honor, nor gave him so good entertainment, as to his other companions. For *Philip* shewed more kindnes, and gave better countenance unto *Æschines*, and *Philocrates*, then unto him. Wherefore when they did highly praise *Philip*, & sayd that he was a well spoken Prince, a fayer man, & would drinke freely, and be pleasant in company: *Demoſthenes* smyled at it, and turned all those thinges to the worst, saying, that those qualities were nothing commendable nor meete for a king. For, the first was a qualitie meete for a pleader, the second for a woman, and the third for a sponge. In fine, warres falling out betwene them, because *Philip* of the one side could not live in peace, and the *ATHENIANS* on the other side were stil incensed & stirred up by *Demoſthenes* daily orations. Whereupon, the *ATHENIANS* first sent into the Ile of *EVBOEA*, (the which by meanes of certaine private tyrannes that had taken the townes, became subject againe unto *Philip*) following a decree *Demoſthenes* had preferred, and so went

to expulse the MACEDONIANS againe. After that also he caused them to send ayde unto the BIZANTINES, & unto the PERINTHIANS, with whom *Philip* made warre. For he so perswaded the ATHENIANS, that he made them forget the malice they did beare unto those two nations, and the faults which either of both the cities had committed against them in the warres, touching the rebellion of their confederats: and he caused them to send them ayde, which kept them from *Philips* force & power. Furthermore, going afterwards unto all the great cities of GRÆCE as Ambassador, he did so sollicite and perswade them, that he brought them all in manner to be against *Philip*. So that the army which their tribe should find at their common charge, was fifteene thowsand footemen, all straungers, and two thowsand horsemen, besides the Citizens of every citie which should also serve in the warres at their charge: and the money leavied for the maintenance of this warre, was very willingly disbursed. *Theophrastus* writeth, that it was at that tyme their confederats did pray that they would set downe a certaine summe of money, what every citie shoulde paye: and that *Crohylus* an Orator shoulde make aunswer, that the warre had no certaine maintenance: inferring that the charges of warre was infinite. Now all GRÆCE being in armes, attending what should happen, and all these people and cities being united in one league together: as, the EVBOEANS, the ATHENIANS, the CORINTHIANS, the MEGARIANS, the LEVCADIANS, and the CORCYRIÆIANS: the greatest matter *Demosthenes* had to do, was to perswade the THEBANS also to enter into this league, bicause their contry confined and bordered with ATTICA, besides, their force and power was of great importance, for that they caried the fame of all GRÆCE at that time, for the valliantest souldiers. But it was no trifling matter to winne the THEBANS, and to make them brake

*Demosthenes
stirreth up
Græce a-
gainst the
Macedon-
ians.*

with *Philip*, who but lately before had bound them unto him by many great pleasures which he had done to them, in the warre of the PHOCIANS: besides also that betwixt ATHENS and THEBES, by reason of vicinitie, there fell out daily quarells and debates, the which with every litle thing were soone renewed. This notwithstanding, *Philippe* being prowde of the victorie he had wonne by the citie of AMPHISSE, when he came and invaded the contry of ELATIA, and was entred into PHOCIDE: the ATHENIANS were then so amased with it, that no man durst occupie the pulpit for orations, neither could they tell what way to take. Thus the whole assemblie standing in a doubt with great silence, *Demosthenes* onely stept up, and did agayne give them counsell to seeke to make league and alliance with the THEBANS: and so did further encourage the people, and put them in good hope, as he was alwayes wont to doe. Then with others he was sent Ambassador unto THEBES: and *Philippe* also for his parte, sent Ambassadors unto the THEBANS, *Amyntas* and *Clearchus*, two gentlemen MACEDONIANS, and with them, *Daochus*, *Thessalus*, and *Thrasydaeus*, to aunswer and withstande the perswasions of the ATHENIAN Ambassadors. Thereuppon the THEBANS beganne to advise them selves for the best, and layd before their eyes the miserable frutes and calamities of warre, their woundes being yet greene and uncured, which they gotte by the warres of PHOCIDE. Notwithstanding, the great force of *Demosthenes* eloquence (as *Theopompus* writeth) did so inflame the THEBANS courage with desire of honor, that it trode under their feete all manner of considerations, and did so ravishe them with the love and desire of honestie: that they cast at their heeles, all feare of daunger, all remembrance of pleasures received, and all reason perswading the contrary. This acte of an Orator was of so great force, that *Philippe* forthwith sent

Demosthenes
force of elo-
quence joyned
the Thebans
with the A-
thenians, and
wanne them
from Philip-
pe king of
Macedon.

Ambassadors unto the GRÆCIANS, to intreate for peace, and all GRÆCE was uppe, to see what would become of this sturre. Thus, not onely the Captaines of ATHENS obeyed *Demosthenes*, doing all that he commaunded them: but the governors also of THEBES, and of all the contry of BOEOTIA besides. And the assemblies also of the counsell of THEBES were as well governed by him, as the assemblies of ATHENS, being alike beloved both of the one and the other, and having a like authoritie to command both, and not undeservedly, as *Theopompus* sayth, but by just desert. But some fatall destinie, & the revolution of times had determined the finall ende of the libertie of GRÆCE at that time, cleane contrary to his purpose and intent. There were also many celestially signs that did foreshewe and prognosticate what ende should ensue thereof. And amonge others, *Apolloes* Nunne gave these dreadful oracles: and this olde prophecie of the SIBYLS was commonly song in every bodies mouth.

The overthrow of the Græcians foreshewed at Charonea, by signes and auncient oracles.

*What time the bluddy battell shall be fought at Thermodon,
God graunt I may be farre away, or els (to looke thereon)
Have Egles wings to sore above, among the clowdes on hye.
For there the vanquisht side shall weepe, & Conquerer shall dye.*

Men do report that this Thermodon is a litle river of our contry of CHÆRONEA, the which falleth into the river of Cephisus: howbeit at this present time there is never a river nor brook in all our contry, that I know, called Thermodon. And I thinke, that that river which we call now Hæmon, was in old time Thermodon: for it runneth by the temple of *Hercules*, where the GRÆCIANS lay in campe. And it may be, that because it was filled with dead bodies, and that it ranne bloud at the day of the battell, it chaunged her name, and was surnamed Hæmon, because Hæma in the Greeke tongue, signifieth bloud. Yet *Duris* writeth notwithstanding, that this Ther-

The river of Thermodon, or Hæmon, in the contry of Charonea.

*Another
opinion of
Thermodon.*

modon was no river, but that certaine men setting up their tent, and trenching it about, found a litle image of stone, whereuppon were engraven these letters, whereby it appeareth that it was a man called *Thermodon*, who caried an AMAZON hart in his armes, and that for this image of *Thermodon*, they doe sing such another olde oracle as this:

*Ye Ernes and Ravens tary till the field of Thermodon:
There will be store of carkesses of men to feede upon.*

This notwithstanding, it is very hard to tell the trothe of these things. But *Demosthenes* trusting to the valliantnes and power of the GRÆCIANS, and being marvelously incoraged to see such a great number of valliant and resolute men, so willing to fight with the enemy: he bad them be of good corage, and not to busse about such oracles, and to give eare to those prophecies. And furthermore, he told them plainly, that he did mistrust the Nunne *Pythia* did leane unto *Philip*, as favoring him, and did put the THEBANS in mind of their Captaine *Epaminondas*, and the ATHENIANS of *Pericles*, and perswaded them, that those two famous men were alwaies of opinion, that such prophecies were no other, but a fine cloke for cowards, & that taking no heede to them, they did dispatch their matters according to their owne discretion. Until this present time, *Demosthenes* shewed him

*Demosthenes
flieth from
the battell.*

selfe alwaies an honest man: But when it came to the battell, he fled like a coward, and did no valliant acte any thing aunswerable to the orations whereby he had perswaded the people. For he left his ranck, and cowardly cast away his weapons to ronne the lighter, and was not ashamed at al, as *Pythias* said, of the words written upon his shield in golden letters, which were, *Good Fortune*. Now *Philip* having wonne the battell, he was at that present so joyfull, that he fell to commit many fond parts.

*Demosthenes
word and de-
vise upon his
shield.*

For after he had droncke well with his friends, he went into the place where the overthrow was given, and there in mockery began to sing the beginning of the decree which *Demosthenes* had preferred, (by the which, the ATHENIANS accordingly proclaimed warres against him) rising and falling with his voyce, and dauncing it in measure with his foote:

*Demosthenes, the sonne of Demosthenes Pæanian
did put forth this.*

But afterwards beginning to waxe sober, and leaving his dronckennes, and that he had remembred him selfe what daunger he had bene in: then his heare stood bolt upright upon his head, considering the force and power of such an Orator, that in a peece of a day had inforced him to hazard his Realme and life at a battell. Now *Demosthenes* fame was so great, that it was caried even to the great king of PERSIAES court, who wrote unto his Lieutenants and governors, that they should feede *Demosthenes* with money, and should procure to entertaine him above all the men in GRÆCE, as he that could best withdraw *Philip*, and trouble him with the warres and tumults of GRÆCE. And this was afterwards proved by letters found of *Demosthenes* him selfe, the which came to king *Alexanders* hands in the citie of SARDIS, and by other writings also of the governors and Lieutenants of the king of PERSIA: in the which were named directly the expresse sommes of money which had bene sent and given unto him. Now, the GRÆCIANS being thus overthrowen by battel, the other Orators, adversaries unto *Demosthenes* in the common wealth, began to set apon him, and to prepare to accuse him. But the people did not onely cleere him of all the accusations objected against him, but did continue to honor him more then before, and to call him to assemblies, as one that loved the honor

*Demosthenes
corrupted
with money
of the king
of Persia.*

*Demosthenes
praiseth
them that
were slaine
at the battell
of Chæroneæ.*

and benefit of his contry. So that when the bones of their contry men which were slayne at the battell of CHÆRONEA, were brought to be openly buried according to the custom: the people gave him the honor to make the funeral oration in praise of the dead, & made no shew of sorow or grieve for the losse they had received: (as *Theopompus* witnesseth, and doth nobly declare) but rather in contrary manner shewed that they did not repent them in following of his counsel, but did honor him that gave it. *Demosthenes* then did make the funerall oration. But afterwards in all the decrees he preferred to the people, he would never subscribe any, to prevent the sinister lucke and misfortune of his name, but did passe it under his friends names one after another, untill he grew courageous againe, shortly after that he understoode of the death of *Philip*, who was slaine immediatly after the victorie he wanne at CHÆRONEA. And it seemeth this was the meaning of the prophecie or oracle in the two last verses:

*The vanquished bewayles his lucklesse lot,
And he that winnes, with life escapeth not.*

*Demosthenes
preferreth the
joy of his con-
trie, before
the sorow of
his owne
daughter.*

Now *Demosthenes* hearing of *Philips* death, before the newes were openly known, to prevent them, he would put the people again into a good hope of better lucke to come. Thereupon he went with a cheerfull countenance into the assembly of the counsel, and told them there, that he had had a certain dreame that promised great good hap, and that out of hand unto the ATHENIANS: & immediatly after, the messengers arrived that brought certain newes of king *Philips* death. Thereupon the ATHENIANS made sacrifices of joy to the goddess for this happie newes, and appointed a crowne unto *Pausanias* that had slaine him. *Demosthenes* also came abroad in his best gowne, and crowned with flowers, seven dayes after

the death of his daughter, as *Æschines* reporteth: who reproveth him for it, and noteth him to be a man having little love or charitie unto his owne children. But in deede *Æschines* selfe deserveth more blame, to have such a tender womanish hart, as to beleve, that weeping, and lamenting, are signes of a gentle and charitable nature, condemning them that with pacience and constancie doe passe away such misfortunes. But now to the *ATHENIANS* againe. I can neither thinke nor say that they did wisely to shew such open signes of joy, as to weare crownes and garlands upon their heads, nor also to sacrifice to the goddes for the death of a Prince, that behaved him selfe so Princely & curteously unto them in the victories he had won of them. For, though in dede all cruelty be subject to the revenge of the goddes, yet is this an act of a vile and base minde, to honor a man, and while he lived to make him free of their citie, and now that an other hath slaine him, they to be in such an exceeding jolitie withall, and to exceede the bondes of modestie so farre, as to rampe in maner with both their feete upon the dead, and to sing songes of victorie, as if they them selves had bene the men that had valliantly slaine him. In contrarie manner also, I praise and commend the constancie and corage of *Demoſthenes*, that he leaving the teares and lamentacion of his home trouble unto women, did him selfe in the meane time that he thought was for the benefite of the common wealth: and in my opinion, I thinke he did therein like a man of corage, and worthy to be a governor of a common wealth, never to stowpe nor yeeld, but alwayes to be found stable and constant, for the benefit of the common wealth, rejecting all his troubles, cares, and affections, in respect of the service of his contrie, and to keepe his honor much more carefully, then common players use to doe, when they play the partes of Kings and Princes, whom we see neither weepe

*Æschines re-
proved by
Plutarch for
his fonde be-
leeffe, that
blubbering
and sorowing
are signes of
love and
charitie.*

*Plutarch
praiseth De-
moſthenes
constancie,
for leaving of
his mourning,
to rejoyce for
his common
contrie bene-
fit.*

nor laugh when they list, though they be on the stage: but when the matter of the play falleth out to geve them just occasion. But omitting those reasons, if there be no reason (as in deede there is not) to leave and forsake a man in his sorow and trouble, without geving him some wordes of comfort, and rather to devise some matter to asswage his sorow, and to withdraw his minde from that, to thinke upon some pleasaunter thinges: even as they should keepe sore eyes from seeing bright and glaring colours, in offering them greene and darker. And from whence can a man take greater comfort for his troubles and grieves at home, when the common wealth doth well: then to joyne their private grieves with common joyes, to the end, that the better may obscure and take away the worse? But thus farre I digressed from my historie, enlarging this matter, bicause *Æschines* in his Oration touching this matter, did move the peoples hartes too much to womanish sorow. But now to the

*Demoſthenes
raiſeth up the
Græcians
againſt
Alexander.*

rest. The cities of GRÆCE being againe stirred up by *Demoſthenes*, made a new league againe together: and the THEBANS also having armed them selves by his practise, did one day set upon the garrison of the MACEDONIANS within their city, and slue many of them. The ATHENIANS prepared also to maintaine warre on the THEBANS behalfe and *Demoſthenes* was dayly at all the assemblies of counsell, in the pulpit, perswading the people with his Orations: and he wrote also into ASIA unto the king of PERSIAES Lieutenants and Captaines, to make warre with *Alexander* on their side, calling him child, & Margites, as much to say, as foole. But after that *Alexander* having set all his things at stay within his realme, came him selfe in person with his armie, and invaded the contrie of BOEOTIA: then fell the pride of the ATHENIANS greatly, and *Demoſthenes* also plied the pulpit no more as he was wont. At length, the poore THEBANS being left

unto them selves, forsaken of everie man: they were compelled them selves alone to beare the brunte of this warre, and so came their city to utter ruine and destruction. Thereby the ATHENIANS being in a marvelous feare and perplexitie, did sodainly choose Ambassadors to send unto this young king, and *Demosthenes* chiefly among others: who being affrayed of *Alexanders* furie and wrath, durst not goe to him, but returned from mount Cytheron, and gave up the Ambassade. But *Alexander* sent to summe the ATHENIANS, to send unto him ten of their Orators, as *Idomeneus* and *Duris* both doe write: or eight, as the most writers & best historiographers doe reporte, which were these: *Demosthenes*, *Polyeuctus*, *Ephialtes*, *Lycurgus*, *Myrocles*, *Damon*, *Callisthenes*, and *Charidemus*. At which time, they wryte that *Demosthenes* told the people of ATHENS, the fable of the sheepe and woulves, how that the woulves came on a time, and willed the sheepe, if they woulde have peace with them, to deliver them their mastives that kept them. And so he compared him selfe, and his companions that travelled for the benefit of the contrie, unto the dogges that kepe the flocks of sheepe, and calling *Alexander* the woulfe. And so forth, sayd he, like as you see these corne maisters bringing a sample of their corne in a dish or napkin to shew you, and by that litle doe sell all that they have: so I thinke you will all wonder, that delivering of us, you will also deliver your selves into the handes of your enemies. *Aristobulus* of CASSANDRA reporteth this matter thus. Now the ATHENIANS being in consultacion, not knowing how to resolve: *Demades* having taken five talents of them whom *Alexander* demaunded, did offer him selfe, and promised to goe in this Ambassade unto *Alexander*, and to intreate for them, either bicause he trusted in the love the king did beare him, or else for that he thought he hoped he shoulde finde him pacified, as a Lyon gluttet with the

Alexander
required cer-
taine Orat-
ors of
Athens.

Demosthenes
told of the
sheepe and
woulves.

The judgement of the crowne unto Ctesiphon.

Harpalus a great money man came to Athens, flying from Alexander.

blood of beastes which he had slaine. Howsoever it happened, he perswaded the people to send him unto him, & so handled *Alexander*, that he got their pardon, & did reconcile him with the citie of *ATHENS*. Thereuppon *Alexander* being retyred, *Demades* & his fellowes bare all the sway and authoritie, and *Demosthenes* was under foote. In deede when *Agis* king of *LACEDÆMON*, came with his armie into the field, he began a litle to rowse him selfe, & to lift up his head: but he shrunke choller againe soone after, bicause the *ATHENIANS* would not rise with the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, who were overthrowen, and *Agis* slaine in battell. At that time was the cause of the crowne pleaded against *Ctesiphon*, & the plea was written a litle before the battell of *CHÆRONEA*, in the yeare when *Charondas* was Provost of *ATHENS*: howbeit no sentence was given but ten yeres after that *Aristophon* was Provost. This was such an open judgement, & so famous, as never was any, as well for the great fame of the Orators that pleaded in emulation one of the other, as also for the worthines of the Judges that gave sentence thereof: who did not leave *Demosthenes* to his enemies, although in deede they were of greater power then he, and were also supported with the favor and good will of the *MACEDONIANS*: but they did notwithstanding so well quit him, that *Æschines* had not so muche as the fift parte of mens voyces and opinions in his behalfe. Wherefore immediatly after sentence given, he went out of *ATHENS* for shame, and travelled into the contrie of *IONIA*, and unto the *RHODES*, where he did teache Rethoricke. Shortly after, *Harpalus* flying out of *Alexanders* service, came unto *ATHENS*, being to be charged with many fowle matters he had committed by his exceeding prodigalitie: and also bicause he feared *Alexanders* furie, who was growen severe and cruell, unto his chiefeest servauntes. He comming now amongst the *ATHENIANS*, with store of gold and silver, the Or-

ators being greedie and desirous of the golde and silver he had brought: beganne straight to speake for him, and did counsell the people to receive and protect a poore suter that came to them for succour. But *Demosthenes* gave counsell to the contrarie, and bad them rather drive him out of the citie, and take heede they brought not warres upon their backes, for a matter that not onely was not necessarie, but furthermore meerely unjust. But within fewe daies after, inventory being taken of all *Harpalus* goods, he perceiving that *Demosthenes* tooke great pleasure to see a cuppe of the kings, and considered verie curiously the facion and workemanshippe upon it: he gave it him in his hand, to judge what it weyed. *Demosthenes* peasing it, wondered at the great weight of it, it was so heavie: so he asked how many pownd weight it weyed. *Harpalus* smiling, answered him: it will wey thee twentie talents. So when night was come, he sent him the cuppe, with the twentie talentes. This *Harpalus* was a verie wise man, and found straight by *Demosthenes* countenance that he loved money, and could presently judge his nature, by seeing his pleasant countenance, and his eyes still upon the cuppe. So *Demosthenes* refused not his gift, *Demosthenes* and being overcomen withall, as if he had received a gar- *bribed by* rison into his house, he tooke *Harpalus* parte. The next *Harpalus* morning, he went into the assemblie of the people, hav- *with twenty* ing his necke bound up with wolles and rolles. So when *talents.* they called him by his name to steppe up into the pulpit, to speake to the people as he had done before: he made a signe with his head, that he had an impediment in his voyce, and that he could not speake. But wise men laughing at his fine excuse, tolde him it was no sinanche that had stopped his wesill that night, as he would make them beleve: but it was *Harpalus* argentsynanche which he had received, that made him in that case. Afterwardes when the people understoode that he was corrupted,

**This conceit
can hardly be
expressed in
any other lan-
guage, then in
Greeke. For
he sayth,*
δὺκ
ἀκούσατε
τοῦ τὴν
κυλίκαι
ἔχοντος:
*alluding to
the verbe
κυλεῖν, which
signifieth to
delight by
pleasaunt
speeche or
sound.*

*Demosthenes
banishment.*

Demosthenes going about to excuse him selfe, they would not abide to heare him: but made a noyse & exclamacion against him. Thereuppon there rose up a pleasaunt conceited man, that sayd: why my maisters, do ye refuse to heare a man that hath *such a golden tongue? The people thereuppon did immediatly banishe *Harpalus*, & fearing least king *Alexander* would require an accompt of the gold and silver which the Orators had robbed and pilfred away among them: they made very diligent searche and inquirie in every mans house, excepting *Callicles* house, the sonne of *Arrenidas*, whose house they would have searched by no meanes, because he was but newly married, and had his newe spowse in his house, as *Theopompus* wryteth. Nowe *Demosthenes* desiring to shewe that he was in fault, preferred a decree, that the court of the Areopagites should heare the matter, and punish them that were found faultie, and therewithall straight offered him selfe to be tried. Howbeit he was one of the first whom the court condemned in the summe of fiftie talents, and for lacke of payment, they put him in prison: where he could not endure long, both for the shame of the matter for the which he was condemned, as also for his sickely body. So he brake prison, partely without the privitie of his keepers, and partely also with their consent: for they were willing he should make a scape. Some doe report that he fled not farre from the citie: where it was told him that certaine of his enemies followed him, whereuppon he would have hidden him selfe from them. But they them selves first called him by his name, and comming to him, prayed him to take money of them, which they had brought him from their houses to helpe him in his banishment: and that therefore they ran after him. Then they did comfort him the best they could, and perswaded him to be of good cheere, and not to dispaire for the misfortune that was comen unto him. This did

pearce his hart the more for sorow, that he aunswered them: why, would you not have me be sorie for my misfortune, that compelleth me to forsake the citie where in deede I have so curteous enemies, that it is hard for me to finde any where so good frends? So he tooke his banishment unmanly, and remained the most parte of his banishment in the citie of ÆGINA, or at the citie of TROEZEN, where oftentimes he would cast his eyes towards the contrie of ATTICA, and weepe bitterly. And some have written certeine words he spake, which shewed no minde of a man of corage, nor were aunswerable to the noble thinges he was wont to perswade in his Orations. For it is reported of him, that as he went out of ATHENS, he looked backe againe, and holding up his handes to the castell, sayd in this sorte: O Ladie *Miverna*, Ladie patronesse of this city: why doest thou delight in three so mischievous beastes: the owle, the dragon, & the people? Besides, he perswaded the young men that came to see him, and that were with him, never to meddle in matters of state, assuring them, that if they had offred him two wayes at the first, the one to goe into the assembly of the people, to make Orations in the pulpit, and the other to be put to death presently, and that he had knowen as he did then, the troubles a man is compelled to suffer that medleth with the affaires of the state, the feare, the envie, the accusations, and troubles in the same: he would rather have chosen the way to have suffered death. So, *Demosthenes* continuing in his exile, king *Alexander* dyed, and all GRÆCE was up againe: insomuch as *Leosthenes* being a man of great valure, had shut up *Antipater* in the citie of IAMEA, and there kept him straightly besieged. Then *Pytheas* and *Callimedon*, surnamed *Carabos*, two Orators, and both of them banished from ATHENS, they tooke parte with *Antipater*, and went from towne to towne with his Ambassadors & frendes, perswading the GRÆC-

*Demosthenes
tooke his
banishment
grievously.*

*Three mis-
chievous
beasts.*

*Antipater
besieged of
the Athen-
ians.*

IANS not to sturre, neither to take parte with the ATHEN-
 IANS. But *Demosthenes* in contrarie maner, joyning with
 the Ambassadors sent from ATHENS. into everie quar-
 ter, to sollicite the cities of GRÆCE, to seeke to recover
 their libertie: he did aide them the best he coulede, to sol-
 cite the GRÆCIANS, to take armes with the ATHENIANS,
 to drive the MACEDONIANS out of GRÆCE. And *Phyl-*
archus writeth, that *Demosthenes* encountered with *Pytheas*
 wordes in an open assemblie of the people in a certaine
 towne of ARCADIA: *Pytheas* having spoken before him,
 had said: like as we presume alwaies that there is some
 sicknesse in the house whether we doe see asses milke
 brought: so must that towne of necessitie be sicke, where-
 in the Ambassadors of ATHENS doe enter. *Demosthenes*
 aunswered him againe, turning his comparison against
 him: that in deede they brought asses milke, where there
 was neede to recover health: and even so, the Ambas-
 sadors of ATHENS were sent, to heale and cure them that
 were sicke. The people at ATHENS understanding what
Demosthenes had done, they so rejoyced at it, that pres-
 ently they gave order in the felde, that his banishment
 should be revoked. He that perswaded the decree of his
 revocation, was called *Dæmon*, PÆANIAN, that was his
 nephew: and thereupon the ATHENIANS sent him a gal-
 ley to bring him to ATHENS, from the city of ÆGINA. So
Demosthenes being arrived at the haven of Piræa, there
 was neither Governor, Priest, nor almost any townes
 man left in the city, but went out to the haven to wel-
 come him home. So that *Demetrius* MAGNESIAN wryt-
 eth, that *Demosthenes* then lifting up his handes unto heav-
 en sayed, that he thought him selfe happie for the honor
 of that journey, that the returne from his banishment was
 farre more honorable, then *Alcibiades* returne in the like
 case had bene. For *Alcibiades* was called home by force:
 and he was sent for with the good will of the citizens.

Demosthenes
called home
from exile.

This notwithstanding, he remained still condemned for his fine: for by the law, the people coulde not dispen-
 withall, nor remit it. Howbeit they devised a way to de-
 ceive the lawe: for they had a manner to geve certaine
 money unto them that did prepare and sette out the aul-
 ter of *Jupiter* savior, for the day of the solemnitie of the
 sacrifice, the which they did yearely celebrate unto him:
 so they gave him the charge to make this preparacion for
 the summe of fifty talents being the summe of the fine
 aforesayd wherein he was condemned. Howbeit, he did
 not long enjoy the good happe of his restitution to his
 contry and goodes. For the affaires of the GRÆCIANS
 were immediatly after brought to utter ruine. For the
 battell of Cranon which they lost, was in the moneth
 Munichyon (to wit, Julie) and in the moneth Boedrom-
 ion next ensuing, (to wit, August) the garrison of the
 MACEDONIANS entred into the forte of Munichya. And
 in the moneth Pyanepsion (to wit, the October follow-
 ing) *Demosthenes* died in this maner. When newes came
 to ATHENS, that *Antipater* and *Craterus* were comming
 thither with a great armie, *Demosthenes* and his frends
 got out of the towne a litle before they entred, the people,
 by *Demades* perswasion, having condemned them to dye.
 So, every man making shift for him selfe, *Antipater* sent
 souldiers after them to take them: and of them *Archias*
 was Captaine, surnamed *Phygadotheras*, as muche to say,
 as a hunter of the banished men. It is reported that this
Archias was borne in the citie of THYRIES, and that he
 had bene sometimes a common player of tragedies: and
 that *Polus* also who was borne in the citie of ÆGINES,
 (the excellentest craftes maister in that facultie of all men)
 was his scholler. Yet *Hermippus* doth recite him among-
 est the number of the schollers of *Lacritus* the Orator.
 And *Demetrius* also wryteth, that he had bene at *Anaxim-
 enes* schoole. Now, this *Archias* having founde the Orator

Demosthenes
fine of fiftie
talentes re-
mitted.

Archias
Phygadoth-
eras, a hunter
of the banish-
ed men.

*Demosthenes
dream.*

Hyperides in the citie of *ÆGINA*, *Aristonicus* *MARATHONIAN*, & *Himeræus* the brother of *Demetrius* the *PHALERIAN*, which had taken sanctuary in the temple of *Ajax*: he tooke them out of the temple by force, and sent them unto *Antipater*, who was at that time in the citie of *CLEONES*, where he did put them all to death: and some say, that he did cut of *Hyperides* tongue. Furthermore, hearing that *Demosthenes* had taken sanctuarie in the Ile of *CALAVRIA*, he tooke litle pinnasies, and a certaine number of *THRACIAN* souldiers, and being comen thither, he sought to perswade *Demosthenes* to be contented to goe with him unto *Antipater*, promising him that he should have no hurt. *Demosthenes* had a straunge dreame the night before, and thought that he had played a tragédie contending with *Archias*, and that he handled him selfe so well, that all the lookers on at the Theater did commende him, and gave him the honor to be the best player: howbeit that otherwise, he was not so well furnished, as *Archias* and his players, and that in all maner of furniture he did farre exceede him. The next morning when *Archias* came to speake with him, who using gentle wordes unto him, thinking thereby to winne him by fayer meanes to leave the sanctuarie: *Demosthenes* looking him full in the face, sitting still where he was, without removing, sayd unto him: O *Archias*, thou diddest never perswade me when thou playedst a play, neither shalt thou nowe perswade me, though thou promise me. Then *Archias* began to be angrie with him, & to threaten him. O, sayd *Demosthenes*, now thou speakest in good earnest, without dissimulacion, as the Oracle of *MACEDON* hath commaunded thee: for before, thou spakest in the cloudes, and farre from thy thought. But I pray thee stay a while, till I have written somewhat to my frendes. After he had sayd so, he went into the temple as though he would have dispatched some letters, and did put the ende

of the quill in his mouth which he wrote withall, and bit it as his maner was when he did use to write any thing, and held the ende of the quill in his mouth a pretie while together: then he cast his gowne over his head, and layed him downe. *Archias* souldiers seeing that, being at the dore of the temple, laughing him to scorne (thinking he had done so for that he was affrayed to dye) called him coward, and beast. *Archias* also coming to him, prayed him to rise, and beganne to use the former perswasions, to him, promising him that he would make *Antipater* his frende. Then *Demosthenes* feeling the poyson worke, cast open his gowne, and boldly looking *Archias* in the face, sayd unto him: Nowe when thou wilt, play *Creons* parte, and throwe my bodie to the dogges, without further grave or buriall. For my parte, O god *Neptune*, I do goe out of thy temple being yet alive, bicause I will not prophane it with my death: but *Antipater*, and the MACEDONIANS, have not spared to defile thy sanctuarie with blood, and cruell murder. Having spoken these wordes, he prayed them to stay him up by his armeholes, for his feete began alreadie to faile him, and thinking to goe forward, as he past by the aulter of *Neptune*, he fel downe, and geving one gaspe, gave up the ghost. Now touching the poyson, *Aristo* reporteth, that he sucked and drewe it up into his mouth out of his quill, as we have sayd before. But one *Pappus*, (from whom *Hermippus* hath taken his historie) wryteth, that when he was layed on the ground before the aulter, they founde the beginning of a letter which sayd: *Demosthenes* unto *Antipater*, but no more. Nowe his death being thus sodaine, the THRACIAN souldiers that were at the temple dore, reported that they sawe him plucke the poyson which he put into his mouth, out of a litle cloth he had, thinking to them that it had bene a pece of gold he had swallowed downe. Howbeit a maide of the house that served him, being examined by

Demosthenes
taketh poy-
son to kill
him selfe, in
the temple of
Neptune, in
the Ile of
Calauria.

The death of
Demosth-
enes.

*The time of
Demosthenes
death.*

*The Athen-
ians honored
Demosthenes
after his
death.*

Archias about it: tolde him that he had caried it about him a long time, for a preservatife for him. *Eratoſthenes* writeth, that he kept this poyson in a litle boxe of gold made hollow within, the which he ware as a bracelet about his arme. There are many writers also that do reporte his death diversly, but to recite them all it were in vaine: saving that there was one called *Demochares* (who was *Demosthenes* verie frende) sayd, that he dyed not so sodainly by poyson, but that it was the speciall favor of the gods (to preserve him from the crueltie of the MACEDONIANS) that so sodainly tooke him out of his life, and made him feele so litle paine. *Demosthenes* dyed the sixteenth day of the moneth Pynepsion (to wit, October) on the which day they doe celebrate at ATHENS the feast of *Ceres*, called *Tesmophoria*, which is the dolefullest feast of all the yeare: on the which day also, the women remaine all day longe in the temple of the goddesse, without meate or drinke. Shortly after, the ATHENIANS to honor him according to his desertes, did cast his image in brasse, and made a lawe besides, that the oldest man of his house shoulde for ever be kept within the pallace, at the charge of the common wealth: and ingraved these verses also upon the base of his image.

*Hadst thou Demosthenes had strength according to thy hart,
The Macedons should not have wrought the Greekes such woe
and smart.*

For they that thinke, that it was *Demosthenes* him selfe that made the verses in the Ile of CALAVRIA, before he tooke his poyson: they are greatly deceived. But yet a litle before my first comming to ATHENS, there went a reporte that such a thing happened. A certaine souldier being sent for to come unto his Captaine, did put such peeces of gold as he had into the handes of *Demosthenes* statue, which had both his hands joyned together: and

there grew hard by it a great plane tree, divers leaves whereof either blowen of by winde by chaunce, or else put there of purpose by the souldier, covered so this golde, that it was there a long time, and no man found it: untill such time as the souldier came againe, and found it as he left it. Hereuppon this matter running abroad in everie mans mouth, there were divers wise men that tooke occasion of this subject, to make epigrammes in the praise of *Demosthenes*, as one who in his life was never corrupted. Furthermore, *Demades* did not long enjoy the honor he thought he had newly gotten. For the justice of the goddess, revenger of the death of *Demosthenes*, brought him into MACEDON, to receive just punishment by death, of those whom he dishonestly flattered: being before growen hatefull to them, and afterwarde committed a fault whereby he could not escape. For there were letters of his taken, by the which he did perswade, & pray **Perdiccas*, to make him selfe king of MACEDON, and to deliver GRÆCE from bondage, saying that it hong but by a threde, and yet it was halfe rotten, meaning thereby, *Antipater*. *Dinarchus* CORINTHIAN accused him, that he wrote these letters: the which so grievously offended *Cassander*, that first he slewe his owne sonne in his armes, and then commaunded they should afterwards kill *Demades*, making him feeble then by those miseries (which are the cruelliest that can happen unto man) that traitors betraying their owne contrie do first of all betray themselves. *Demosthenes* had often forewarned him of his end, but he would never beleve him. Thus, my frend *Sossius*, you have what we can deliver you, by reading, or reporte, touching *Demosthenes* life and doings.

**He sayth Antigonus, in the life of Phocion.*

Demades death and reward for his treason.

The end of the life of Demosthenes.



The Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero

*Ciceroes
parentage.*

AS touching *Ciceroes* mother, whose name was *Helvia*, it is reported she was a gentlewoman borne, and lived alwayes verie honestly: but for his father, the reports of him are divers and infinite. For some say that he was borne and brought up in a fullers shoppe: others reporte that he came of *Tullius Actius*, who while he lived was honored among the *VOLSCES* as king, and made verie sharpe and cruell warres with the *ROMANES*. But surely it seemes to me, that the first of that name called *Cicero*, was some famous man, and that for his sake his offspring continued still that surname, and were glad to keepe it, though many men scorned it, because *Cicer* in English signifieth a riche pease. That *Cicero* had a thing upon the tippe of his nose, as it had bene a litle wart,

*Cicero, why
so called.*

muche like to a riche pease, whereuppon they surnamed him *Cicero*. But this *Cicero*, whose life we write of nowe, nobly aunswered certaine of his frendes on a time geving him counsell to chaunge his name, when he first made sute for office, and beganne to practise in matters of state: that he woulde endeavour him selfe to make the name of the *Ciceroes* more noble and famous, then the *Scauri*, or *Catuli*. After that, *Cicero* beinge made Treasurer in SIC- *Cicero Quæstor.*
 ILE, he gave an offering of certeine silver plate unto the goddes, and at large engraved on it his two first names, *Marcus Tullius*: and in place of his third name, he pleasantly commaunded the workeman to cut out the forme and facion of a riche pease. Thus muche they wryte of his name. Nowe for his birth, it was sayed that his mother *Ciceroes birth.*
 was brought a bedde of him without any paine, the third daye of Januarie: on which day the Magistrates and Governours of ROME doe use at this present, yearely to make solemne prayers and sacrifices unto the goddes, for the health and prosperitie of the Emperour. Further, it is reported, that there appeared an image to his nurse, that *An image appeared to Ciceroes nurse.*
 did prognosticate unto her she gave a childe sucke, which in time to come shoulde doe great good unto all the ROMANES. Nowe though such thinges may seeme but dreames and fables unto many, yet *Cicero* him selfe shortly after proved this prophecie true: bicause that when he came of age to learne, he grewe so toward, and wanne *Ciceroes towardnes and wit.*
 suche fame among the boyes, for his excellent wit and quicke capacitie. For thereuppon came the other boyes fathers them selves to the schoole to see his face, and to be eye witnesses of the reporte that went of him, of his sharpe and quicke witte to learne. But others of the rude and baser sorte of men were offended with their sonnes, bicause to honor *Cicero*, they did alwayes put him in the middest betwene them, as they went in the streetes. *Cicero* in deede had suche a naturall witte and understanding,

Cicero a notable Poet.

*Cicero, Philoes scholler, the Academicke Philosopher.
Cicero a follower of Mutius Scævola.*

as *Plato* thought meete for learning, and apt for the studie of Philosophie. For he gave him selfe to all kinde of knowledge, and there was no arte, nor any of the liberall sciences, that he disdained: notwithstanding in his first young yeares he was apter, and better disposed to the studie of Poetrie, then any other. There is a pretie poeme of his in verses of eight staves, called *Pontius Glaucus*, extant at this day, the which he made when he was but a boye. After that, being geven more earnestlie unto this studie, he was not onely thought the best Orator, but the best Poet also of all the ROMANES in his time: and yet doth the excellencie of his eloquence, and commendacion of his tongue continewe, even to this daye, notwithstanding the great alteracion and chaunge of the Latine tongue. But his Poetrie hath lost the name & estimacion of it, bicause there were many after him that became farre more excellent therein then he. After he had left his childishe studies, he became then *Philoes* scholler, the Academicke Philosopher, the onely scholler of all *Clitomachus* schollers, whome the ROMANES esteemed so muche for his eloquence, and loved more for his gentle behaviour and conversation. He gave him selfe also to be a follower of *Mutius Scævola*, who at that time was a greate man in ROME, and Prince of the Senate, and who did also instruct *Cicero* in the lawes of ROME. He did also followe *Sylla* for a time, in the warres of the MARSIA NS. But when he sawe that the common wealth of ROME fell to civill warres, and from civill warres to a monarchie: then he returned againe to his booke and contemplative life, and frequented the learned men of GRÆCE, & alwayes studied with them, untill *Sylla* had gotten the upper hande, and that he saw all the common wealth againe at some stay. About that time, *Sylla* causing the goods of one that was sayd to be slaine, to be solde by the crier: (beinge one of the outlawes and proscriptes, to witte, banished by

billes sette up on postes) *Chrysogonus*, one of *Syllaes* freed
 bondemen, and in great favour with his maister, bought
 them for the summe of two thowsande Drachmas. There-
 withall the sonne and heire of the deade person called
Roscius, being marvelouslie offended, he shewed that it
 was too shamefull an abuse: for his fathers goodes am-
 ounted to the summe of two hundred and fittie talentes.
Sylla finding him selfe thus openlie touched with pub-
 like fraude and deceite, for the onely gratifyinge of his
 man: he procured *Chrysogonus* to accuse him, that he had
 killed his owne father. Never an Orator durst speake in
Roscius behalfe to defende his cause, but shronke colour, *Roscius, put in sute.*
 fearing *Syllaes* crueltie and severitie. Wherefore poore
Roscius the younge man, seeinge everie man forsake him,
 had no other refuge but to goe to *Cicero*, whome his
 frendes did counsell and perswade boldly to take upon
 him the defence of *Roscius* cause: for he shoulde never
 have a happier occasion, nor so noble a beginning to
 bring him selfe into estimacion, as this. Thereuppon *Cicero*
Cicero a weake man.
 determined to take his cause in hande, and did handell
 it so well, that he obteyned the thing he sued for: where-
 by he wanne him great fame and credit. But yet being
 affrayed of *Syllaes* displeasure, he absented him selfe from
 ROME, and went into GRÆCE, gevinge it out that his
 travell was for a disease he had uppon him. In deede *Cicero*
Cicero, Antiochus scholar.
ero was dogge leane, a litle eater, and woulde also eate
 late, bicause of the great weakenesse of his stomacke: but
 yet he had a good lowde voyce, though it was somewhat
 harshe, and lacked grace and comelynesse. Furthermore
 he was so earnest and vehement in his Oration that he
 mounted still with his voyce into the highest tunes: inso-
 muche that men were affrayed it woulde one daye put
 him in hazard of his life. When he came to ATHENS, he
 went to heare *Antiochus* of the citie of ASCALONA, and
 fell in greate likinge with his sweete tongue, & excellent

*The commod-
itie of exer-
cise.*

*Cicero goeth
into Asia,
and to
Rhodes.*

grace, though otherwise he misliked his newe opinions in Philosophie. For *Antiochus* had then forsaken the opinions of the newe Academicke Philosophers, and the sect of the Carneades: being moved thereunto, either through the manifest prooffe of thinges, or by his certaine judgement, or (as some say) for that of an ambition or dissention against the schollers and followers of *Clitomachus* and *Philo*, he had reprov'd the resolutions of the Academicke, which he had of long time defended, onely to leane for the moſte parte to the Stoicke opinions. Howebeit *Cicero* had moſt affection unto the Academicke, and did studie that sect more then all the rest, of purpose, that if he sawe he were forbidden to practise in the common wealth at ROME, he woulde then goe to ATHENS (leaving all pleases and Orators in the common wealth) to bestowe the rest of his time quietly in the studie of Philosophie. At length, when he hearde newes of *Syllaes* death, and sawe that his bodie was growen to good state and health by exercise, and that his voyce became dayly more and more to fill mens eares with a sweete and pleasaunt sounde, and yet was lowde enough for the constitution of his bodie: receiving letters dayly from his frendes at ROME, that prayed him to returne home, and moreover, *Antiochus* selfe also earnestlie perswadinge him to practise in the common wealth: he beganne againe to fall to the studie of Rethoricke, and to frame him selfe to be eloquent, being a necessarie thing for an Orator, and did continuallie exercise him selfe in making Orations upon any speache or proposition, and so frequented the chiefe Orators and masters of eloquence that were at that time. To this ende therefore he went into ASIA unto RHODES, & amongst the Orators of ASIA, he frequented *Xenocles* ADRAMETTIN, and *Dionysius* MAGNESIAN, and studied also with *Menippus* CARIAN: at RHODES he hearde *Apollonius Molon*, and the Philosopher *Posidonius*.

And it is reported also, that *Apollonius* wanting the Latine tongue, he did praye *Cicero* for exercise sake, to declame in Græke. *Cicero* was verie well contented with it, thinkinge that thereby his faultes should be the better corrected. When he had ended his declamacion, all those that were present were amazed to heare him, and everie man praised him one after an other. Howebeit *Apollonius* all the while *Cicero* spake, did never shewe any glad countenance: & when he had ended, he stayed a greate while and sayed never a worde. *Cicero* misliking withall, *Apollonius* at length sayed unto him. As for me *Cicero*, I doe not onely praise thee, but more then that, I wonder at thee: and yet I am sorie for poore GRÆCE, to see that learning and eloquence (which were the two onely giftes and honor left us) are by thee obtained with us, and caried unto the ROMANES. Nowe *Cicero* being verie well disposed, to goe with good hope to practise at ROME, he was a litle discouraged by an Oracle that was tolde him. For, inquiring of the god *Apollo* DELPHIAN, howe he might doe to winne fame and estimacion: the Nunne *Pythias* aunswered him he shoulde obtayne it, so that in his doinges he woulde rather followe the disposicion of his owne nature, then the opinion of the common people. Wherefore when he came to ROME, at the first he proceeded verie warely, and discretely, and did unwillinglie seeke for an office, and when he did, he was not greatlie esteemed: for they commonlie called him the GRÆCIAN, and scholler, which are two wordes, the which the artificers, (and suche base mechanicall people at ROME,) have ever readie at their tongues ende. Nowe he beinge by nature ambitious of honour, and prickt forward also by the perswasion of his father and frendes: in the ende he beganne to pleade, and there obtained not the chieftest place by litle and litle, but so soone as he fell to practise, he was immediatly esteemed above all the other Orators

Cicero declamed in Græke.

Apollonius testimonie of Cicero.

An Oracle given to Cicero.

Ciceroes first practising in the common wealth.

*Roscius and
Æsopius
common
players.*

and pleaders in his time, and did excell them all. Yet it is reported notwithstanding, that for his gesture and pronunciacion, having the selfe same defectes of nature at the beginning, which *Demosthenes* had: to reformethem, he carefully studied to counterfeate *Roscius*, an excellent commediant, and *Æsop* also a player of tragedies. Of this *Æsop* men wryte, that he playing one day *Atrius* parte upon a stage (who determined with him selfe how he might be revenged of his brother *Thyestes*) a servaunt by chaunce having occasion to runne sodainly by him, he forgetting him selfe, striving to shewe the vehement passion and furie of this king, gave him suche a blowe on his head with the scepter in his hand, that he slue him dead in the place. Even so *Ciceroes* words were of so great force to perswade, by meanes of his grace and pronunciacion. For he mocking the Orators that thrust out their heades, and cried in their Orations, was wont to say that they were like to lame men, who were driven to ryde, bicause they coulde not goe a foote: even so (sayed he) they crie out, bicause they can not speake. Truly pleasaunt tawntes doe grace an Orator, and sheweth a fine witte: but yet *Cicero* used them so commonly, that they were offensive unto many, and brought him to be counted a malicious scoffer and spightfull man. He was chosen Treasurer in the time of dearth, when there was great scarcetie of corne at ROME: and the province of SICILE fell to his lotte. At his first comming thither, the SICILIANS misliked him verie muche, bicause he compelled them to sende corne unto ROME: but after they had founde his diligence, justice, and lenitie, they honored him above any Governor that ever was sent from ROME. Nowe there were divers young gentlemen of ROME of noble houses, who being accused for sundrie faultes committed in warres against their honor, and martiall discipline, had bene sent backe againe unto the

*Cicero, a fine
Tawnter.*

*Cicero chosen
Quæstor.*

*Ciceroes dili-
gence, justice,
and lenitie.*

Prætor of SICILE: for whome *Cicero* pleaded, and did so excellently defende their cause, that they were pardoned everie man. Thereuppon, thinking well of him selfe, when his time expired, he went to ROME, and by the way there happened a prety jeaſt unto him. As he passed through the contrie of CAMPANIA, (otherwise called the lande of labor) he met by chaunce with one of the chiefest ROMANES of all his frends. So falling in talke with him, he asked him what they sayd of him at ROME, and what they thought of his doinges: imagining that all ROME had bene full of the glorie of his name and deedes. His frende asked him againe: and where haſt thou bene *Cicero* all this while, that we have not seene thee at ROME? This killed his hart straight, when he sawe that the reporte of his name and doinges, entring into the citie of ROME as into an infinite sea, was so sodainely vanquished away againe, without any other fame or speach. But after that, when he looked into him selfe, and sawe that in reason he tooke an infinite labor in hande to attaine to glorie, wherein he sawe no certaine ende whereby to attaine unto it: it cut of a great parte of the ambicion he had in his head. And yet the great pleasure he tooke to heare *Cicero, ambitious, and desirous of praise.* his owne praise, and to be overmuch given to desire of honor and estimacion: those two thinges continued with him even to his dying day, and did eftsoones make him swarve from justice. Furthermore, when he beganne thorowely to practise in the affaires of the state, he thought it an ill thing that artificers and craftes men shoulde have many sortes of instrumentes and tooles without life, to knowe the names of everie one of them, the places where they shoulde take them, & the use whereto they shoulde employ them: and that a man of knowledge and qualitie (who doth all thinges with the helpe and service of men) shoulde be slothfull, and carelesse, to learne to knowe the names of his citizens. Therefore he gave him selfe to

*Cicero geven
to know mens
names, their
landes, and
frendes.*

*Ciceroes do-
ings against
Verres.*

knowe, not onely mens names of qualitie, but the streetes also they dwelt in, what parte of the citie soever it was: their goodly houses in the contrie, the frendes they made of, and the neighbours whome they companied with. So that when he went abroad into ITALIE, wheresoever he became, *Cicero* coulde shewe & name his frendes houses. He was not verie riche, and yet he had enough to serve his turne: the which made men muse the more at him, and they loved him the better, bicause he tooke no fee nor gifte for his pleading, what cause soever he had in hande, but then speciallie, when he defended a matter against *Verres*. This *Verres* had bene Prætor of SICILIA, and had committed many lewde partes there, for the which the SICILIANS did accuse him. *Cicero* taking upon him to defende their cause, made *Verres* to be condemned, not by pleading, but in manner without pleading, and in this sorte. The Prætors being his Judges, and favoring *Verres*, had made so many rejoygements and delays, that they had driven it of to the laste day of hearing. *Cicero* perceiving then he shoulde not have day light to speake all that he had to say against him, and that thereby nothing shoulde be done and judged: he rose up, and sayed, that there needed no further plea in this matter, but onely brought forth the witnesses before the Judges, and having caused their deposicions to be taken, he prayed they woulde proceede to sentence, according to their evidence geven on that behalfe. Yet some doe reporte, that *Cicero* gave many pleasaunt tawntes and girdes, in pleading the accusacion of the SICILIANS against *Verres*. The ROMANES doe call a bore, *Verres*. There was one *Cæcilius*, the sonne of a freed bondman, who was suspected to holde with the supersticion of the JEWES. This *Cæcilius* woulde have put by the SICILIANS from following the accusacion of *Verres*, and woulde have had the matter of his accusacion only re-

ferred to him, for the prosecuting of it against him. *Cicero* skorning his sute, sayd unto him: what hath a *JEW* He spake it
to doe with a swine? This *Verres* had a sonne somewhat because the
above twentie yeares of age, who (as the reporte went) *Jewes* doe
had a verie ill name for his beawtie. And therefore when eate no swine
Verres one day thought to mocke *Cicero*, saying that he flesh.
was too womanly: his children (sayd he) are to be re-
proved of that secretly at home. In this accusation, *Hortensius* the Orator durst not directly defende *Verres*: but
touching the condemnacion of his fine, he was then con-
tented to aunswere for him, for he had a Sphinx of Yv-
ory geven him by *Verres* for his reward. Thereuppon
Cicero gave him a pretie nippe by the way: but *Hortensius*
not understanding him, sayd he coulede no skill of darke
speeches. Well, sayd *Cicero*, yet hast thou a sphinx in thy
house. In the ende *Verres* being condemned, and a fine
sette on his heade to the value of seventie five Myriades,
Cicero notwithstandinge was suspected to be bribed with
money for agreeing to cast him in so small a summe. But
yet when he came to be *Ædilis*, the *SICILIANS* to shew *Cicero* chosen
them selves thankefull to him, both brought and sent *Ædilis*.
him many presentes out of *SICILE*. Of all that he tooke
nothing to his owne use, but onely bestowed their liber-
alitie in bringing downe the prises of vittells at *ROME*.
He had a goodly house within the confines of the citie of
ARPOS, a farme also by *NAPLES*, and an other about the
citie of *POMPEII*: but all these were no great thinges.
Afterwardes also he had the joynter of his wife *Terentia*, *Ciceroes*
which amounted to the summe of twelve Myriades, and riches.
besides all this, there came to him by inheritaunce, eleven
Myriades of their *Denarij*. Thereuppon he lived verie
honestly and soberly, without excesse, with his familiar
frendes that loved him, both *GRÆCIANS* and *ROMANES*,
and woulde never goe to supper till after sunne set, not
so muche for any great businesse he had, as for the weake-

*Ciceroes
great curtesie
and resorte.*

*Cicero chosen
Prætor.*

nesse of his stomake. But otherwise he was verie curious, and carefull of his person, and woulde be rubbed and noynted, and he would use also to walke a certaine number of turnes by proporcion: and so exercising his bodie in that sorte, he was never sicke, and besides was alwayes verie strong and lustie of bodie, able to abide great paines and sorowes which he fell into afterwardes. He gave his fathers chiefe mansion house to his brother, and went to dwell him selfe in the mount Palatine: because suche as came to waite upon him to doe him honor, shoulde not take the paines to goe so farre to see him. For, he had as many men dayly at his gate everie morning, as either *Crassus* had for his wealth, or *Pompey* for his estimacion among the souldiers both of them being at that time the chiefeſt men of ROME. Yea furthermore, *Pompeys* selfe came unto *Cicero*, because his Orations stooode him to great purpose, for thincrease of his honor and authoritie. Nowe when *Cicero* came to make sute to be Prætor (which is, to be as an ordinarie judge) though he had many competitors, and fellowe suters with him, yet was he first chosen affore them all: and he did so honestly behave him selfe in that office, that they did not so muche as once suspect him of briberie or extorcion. And for prooffe hereof, it is reported, that *Licinius Macer* (a man that of him selfe was of great power, and yet favored and supported besides by *Crassus*) was accused before *Cicero* of theft and extorcion in his office: but he trustinge muche to his supposed credit, and to the greatesute and labour his frendes made for him, went home to his house before sentence proceeded against him (the Judges being yet to geve their opinions) and there speedely trimmed his beard, and put a newe gowne uppon his backe, as though he had bene sure to have bene quitte of his accusacion, and then returned againe into the market place. But *Crassus* went to meete him, and tolde him all

the Judges had condemned him. *Licinius Macer* tooke *Licinius Macer con-*
suche a griefe and conceite upon it, that he went home *demned.*
to his house againe, layed him downe on his bedde, and
never rose after. This judgement wanne *Cicero* greate
fame, for they praised him exceedingly for the great
paines he tooke, to see justice duely executed. An other
called also *Vatinius*, (a bedlem fellowe, and one that be-
haved him selfe verie unreverently to the Magistrates in
his pleadinge, and besides had a swollen necke) came
verie arrogantly one day unto *Cicero* being in his Prætor-
iall seate, and asked him a thing which *Cicero* would not
graunte him there, but would thinke of it at better leas-
ure. Thereuppon *Vatinius* tolde him, that he would not
be scrupulous to graunt that, if he were Prætor. *Cicero*
turning to him, aunswered him againe: no more have I
(sayd he) suche a swollen necke as thou hast. Towardes
the ende of his office, two or three dayes before his time
expired, there was one accused *Manilius* before him, that
he also had robbed the common wealth. This *Manilius*
was verie well beloved of the common people, who were
perswaded that he was put in sute, not for any fault he
had committed, but onely to despight *Pompey* with, whose
familiar frende he was. So he required certaine dayes to
aunswere the matter he was accused of: but *Cicero* would
geve him no further respite, but to aunswere it the next
day. The people therewith were marvelously offended,
bicause the other Prætors in suche like cases were wont
to geve tenne dayes respite to others. The next morninge
when the Tribunes had brought him before the Judges,
and also accused him unto them: he besought *Cicero* to
heare him pacientlie. *Cicero* made him aunswere, that
havinge alwayes used as muche favour & curtesie as he
possiblie might by lawe, unto those that were accused,
he thought he shoulde offer *Manilius* too great wrong, if
he shoulde not doe the like to him: wherefore, bicause

*Cicero with
one word
pacified the
offended
Tribunes.*

*Cicero made
Consul.*

*The conspir-
acy of Cati-
line.*

*Catilines
wickednes.*

he had but one day more to continewe Prætor in office, he had purposely geven him that day to make his aunswere before him. For he thought that to leave his accusation to the hearing of an other Prætor, he could not have bene thought a man that had borne him good will, and ment to pleasure him. These wordes did marvelouslie chaunge the peoples opinion and affection towards him, and everie man speaking well of him, they prayed him to defend *Manilius* cause. He willingly graunted them: and comming from the benche, standing at the barre like an Orator to pleade for him, he made a notable Oration, and spake both boldly and sharpely against the chiefe men of the citie, and those speciallie that did envie *Pompey*. This notwithstanding, when he came to sue to be Consul, he founde as great favour amongst the Nobilitie, as he did with the communaltie. For they did further his sute, for the common wealthes sake, upon this occasion. The chaunge and alteracion of government the which *Sylla* brought in, was thought straunge at the first among the people: but nowe men by processe of time being used to it, it was throughly established, and no man misliked it. At that time many men practised to subvert the government, not for the benefit of the common wealth, but to serve their owne covetous mindes. For *Pompey* being then in the East partes, made warres with the kings of PONTVS and ARMENIA, and had not left sufficient force at ROME to oppresse these seditious persons that sought nothing but rebellion. These men had made *Lucius Catilina* their Captaine: a desperate man to attempt any great enterprise, suttile, and malicious of nature. He was accused before (besides many other vile faultes) for deflowering of his owne daughter, and killinge his brother: and being affrayed to be put in sute for it, he prayed *Sylla* to put his brother amongst the number of the outlawes (or proscriptes) as if he had bene then

alive. These wicked rebells havinge chosen them suche a Captaine, were sworne and bounde one to an other in this manner. They killed a man, and did eate of his fleshe together, and had besides corrupted the most parte of all the youth. For *Catiline* their Captaine suffered everie man to take his pleasure, as his youth was inclined unto: as to banket, to followe harlottes, and gave them money largelie to bestowe in these vayne expences. Furthermore all *THVSCAN* beganne to rise, and the most parte of *GAVLE* also, lying betwene the Alpes and *ITALIE*. The citie of *ROME* it selfe was also in great daunger of rising, for the inequalitye of the goods of the inhabitauntes. For the noble men, and of greatest corage, had spent all their landes in playes and feasts, or in buildings and common workes, which they built at their owne charge, to currie favour with the common people, that they might obtaine the chiefe offices: so that thereby they became verie poore, and their goodes were in the handes of meane men and wretches. Thus the state of *ROME* stode in great hazard of uprore, the which any man might easely have procured, that durst have taken uppon him any change or alteration of government, there was then suche division among them in the state. *Catiline* notwithstanding, to provide him of a strong bullwarke to prosecute his intent, came to sue to be Consul, hoping that he should be chosen with *Caius Antonius*, a man that of him selfe was apt neither to doe any great good, nor much hurt, and yet that could be a great strength and aide unto him that woulde attempt any thing. Divers noble and wise men foreseeing that, did procure *Cicero* to sue for the Consulshippe. The people accepted him, and rejected *Catiline*. *Antonius* and *Cicero* thereuppon were created Consuls, although that *Cicero* of all the suters for the Consulship was but only a Knightes sonne, and not the sonne of a Senator of *ROME*. Nowe, though the common

C. Antonius, and M. T. Cicero created Consuls.

Great troubles at Rome, in the time of Ciceroes Consulshippe.

A law preferred for the creacion and authority of the Decemviri.

people understoode not the secret practise and meaning of *Catiline*: yet at the beginning of *Ciceroes* Consulshippe, there fell out great trouble and contencion in the common wealth. For they of the one side, whom *Sylla* had by his ordinaunces deposed from their dignities and offices in ROME (who were no small men, neither fewe in number) beganne to creepe into the peoples good will, alleaging many true and just reasons against the tyrannicall power of *Sylla*: howbeit spoken in ill time, when it was out of time to make any chaunge or alteration in the common wealth. The Tribunes on the other side preferred lawes and ordinaunces to further this devise. They preferred the lawe to choose the Decemviri, with soveraine power and authoritie through all ITALIE and SYRIA, and also through all the contries and provinces which *Pompey* had newly conquered to the Empire of ROME: to sell, and release all the landes belonging to the state of ROME, to accuse any man whome they thought good, to banishe any man, to restore the Colonies with people, to take what money they would out of the treasure, to leavie men of warre, and to keepe them in pay as long as they thought good. For this great and absolute power of the Decemviri, there were many men of great accompt that favored this law, but *Antonius* chiefly, being colleague and fellowe Consul with *Cicero*, for he had good hope to be chosen one of these ten Commissioners: and furthermore, it was thought that he was privie unto *Catelines* conspiracie, and that he misliked it not, bicause he was so muche in det. And this was it that the noble men most feared of all other thinges. Thereuppon *Cicero*, to provide first to prevent this daunger, graunted him the province of the realme of MACEDON: and the province of GAVLE being offered unto him selfe, he refused it. By this good turne, he wanne *Antonius* like a hiered player making him to promise him that he would assiste and aide

him for the benefit of the common wealth, and that he would say no more, then he shoulde will him. When he had brought him to this, and had wonne him to his minde: he then beganne to be the bolder, & more stowtly to resist them that were authors of this innovation and new lawes. *Cicero* therefore in open Senate, did one day sharply reprove, and invey against this law of the Decemviri, which the Tribunes would have established. But thereby he did so terrifie the authors thereof, that there was not one man durst speake against him. This notwithstanding, the Tribunes afterwarde attempted once againe to have it to passe, and appointed the Consuls to appeare before the people. Howbeit *Cicero* being nothing abashed at it, he commaunded the Senate to follow him. So he did not only overthrow this law of the Decemviri, which the Tribunes did preferre: but furthermore they were utterly discouraged and out of hope to bring any of their matters to passe they intended, he strooke them so dead with his eloquence. For *Cicero* one of all men in ROME made the ROMANES know, how much eloquence doth grace and beautifie that which is honest, and how invincible right and justice are, being eloquently set forth: and also how that a man that will be counted a wise Governor of a common weale, should alwayes in his doinges rather preferre profit, than to seeke to currie favor with the common people: yet so to use his words, that the thing which is profitable, may not be also unpleasant. And to prove his sweete and pleasant tongue, may be alleaged that which he did in the time of his Consulship, touching the placing of men at the Theater to see the pastimes. For before, the knights of ROME did sit mingled one with another amongst the common people, and tooke their place as they came. The first that made the difference betwene them, was * *Marcus Otho*, at that time Prætor: who made a law, by the which he ap-

Cicero by his eloquence overthrew the law of the Decemviri.

Ciceroes sweet tongue.

*Others doe say *Lucius Roscius Otho*, Tribune of the people.

*Roscius lawe
for deviding
of the Roman
Knights
from the com-
mon people.*

poyned severall seates for the knights, where they might from thenceforth see the pastimes. The people tooke this grievously, as a thing done to discountenance them: insomuch that *Otho* comming afterwards into the Theater, all the common people fel a whistling at him, to shame him withal. The knights also in contrariwise made him roome amongst them, with great clapping of hands, in token of honor. Therewith the people fell a whistling lowder then before, and the knights in like manner to clapping of their handes, and so grew to wordes one with another: that all the Theater was straight in uprore with it. *Cicero* understanding it, went thither him selfe, and calling the people to the temple of the goddesse *Bellona*, he there so sharply reprovved them, and therewith so perswaded them, that returning presently to the Theater, they did then welcome and receive *Otho* with clapping of their handes, and contended with the knights which of them should doe him greatest honor. But now againe, the rebells of *Catilines* conspiracie (who were pretily cooled at the first for the feare they stooode in) began to be lustie againe, and to gather together, boldely incorageing one another to broache their practise, before *Pompey* returned, who was sayd to be on the way towards *ROME* with his armye. But besides them, those souldiers that had served before in the warres under *Sylla*, being dispersed uppe & downe *ITALY*, (but specially the best souldiers among them dwelling in the good townes of *THVSCAN*) did stirre up *Catiline* to hasten the enterprise, perswading them selves that they should once againe have goods enough at hand, to spoyle and ransacke at their pleasure. These souldiers having one *Manlius* to their Captaine, that had borne office in the field under *Sylla*, conspyred with *Catilin*, and came to *ROME* to assist him in his sute: who purposed once againe to demaund the Consulship, being determined at the elect-

*Syllaes souldiers
conspir-
ed with Catiline.*

ion to kill *Cicero*, in the tumult and hurly burly. The goddes also did plainly shewe by earthquakes, lightning and thunder, and by vision of spirits that did appeare, the secret practise and conspiracie: besides also, there fell out manifest conjectures and proofes by men that came to reveale them, howbeit they had not power sufficient to encownter so noble a man, and of so great power as *Catilin* was. *Cicero* therefore deferring the day of election, called *Catilin* into the Senate, and there did examine him of that which was reported of him. *Catiline* supposing there were many in the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and also bicause he would shewe him self ready unto them that were of his conspiracie: he gave *Cicero* a gentle aunswer, and said thus, What doe I offend, sayd he, if that beeing two bodies in this towne, the one leane and weake, and throughly rotten, and hath a head: and the other being great, strong, and of power, having no head, I doe give it one? meaning under this darke aunswer, to signifie the people and Senate. This aunswer being made, *Cicero* was more affrayd then before, inso-much that he put on a brigantine for the safetie of his body, and was accompanied with the chiefeſt men of ROME, and a great number of younge men besides, going with him from his house unto the fiede of *Mars*, where the elections were made: and had of purpose left open his jacket lose at the choller, that his brigantyne he had on might be seene, thereby to let every man that saw him, know the daunger he was in. Every man misliked it when they saw it, and came about him to defend him, if any offered to assayle him. But it so came to passe, that by voyces of the people, *Catilin* was againe rejected from the Consulship, and *Syllanus* and *Murana* chosen Consuls. Shortly after this election, the souldiers of THVS-CAN being joyned, which should have come to *Catilin*, and the day appoynted being at hande to broache their

Cicero examined Catilin in the Senate.

Syllanus and Murana Consuls.

*Letters
brought to
Crassus, of
Catilines
conspiracie.*

enterprise: about midnight there came three of the chiefest men of ROME to *Ciceroes* house (*Marcus Crassus*, *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Scipio Metellus*) and knocking at his gate, called his porter, and bad him wake his maister presently, and tell him how they three were at the gate to speake with him, about a matter of importance. At night after supper, *Crassus* porter brought his maister a packet of letters, delivered him by a straunger unknown, which were directed unto divers persons, amonge the which one of them had no name subscribed, but was onely directed unto *Crassus* him self. The effect of his letter was, that there should be a great slaughter in ROME made by *Catilin*, and therefore he prayed him that he would depart out of ROME to save him selfe. *Crassus* having red his owne letter, would not open the rest, but went forthwith unto *Cicero*, partly for feare of the daunger, and partly also to cleere him selfe of the suspition they had of him for the friendship that was betwixt him and *Catiline*. *Cicero* counselling with them what was to be done, the next morning assembled the Senate very earely, and carying the letters with him, he did deliver them according to their direction, & commaunded they should read them out alowde. All these letters, and every one of them particularly, did bewray the conspiracie. Furthermore, *Quintus Arrius*, a man of authoritie, and that had bene Prætor, tolde openly the souldiers & men of warre that were leavied in *THVSCAN*. And it was reported also, that *Manlius* was in the fiede with a great number of souldiers about the cities of *THVSCAN*, gaping daily to heare newes of some chaunge at ROME. All these thinges being throughly considered, a decree passed by the Senate, that they should referre the care of the common wealth unto the Consuls, to thend that with absolute authoritie they might (as well as they could) provide for the safetie and preservation thereof. Such manner of

decree and authoritie, was not often seene concluded of in the Senate, but in time of present feare and daunger. Now *Cicero* having this absolute power, he referred all forreine matters to *Quintus Metellus* charge, and did him self take uppon him the care and government of all civill affayres within ROME. On the day time when he went up and downe the towne, he had such a trowpe of men after him, that when he came through the great market place, he almost filled it with his trayne that followed him. Thereuppon *Catiline* would no lenger delay time, but resolved to goe him selfe unto *Manlius* where their armie lay. But before he departed, he had drawn into his confederacie one *Martius*, & an other called *Cethegus*, whome he commaunded betimes in the morning to goe to *Ciceroes* house with short daggers to kil him, pretending to come to salute him, and to give him a good morow. But there was a noble woman of ROME, called *Fulvia*, who went over night unto *Cicero*, and bad him beware of that *Cethegus*, who in deede came the next morning betimes unto him: but being denied to be let in, he began to chafe and raile before the gate. This made him the more to be suspected. In thend *Cicero* comming out of his house, called the Senate to the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, (as much to say, a stayer) which standeth at the upper end of the holy streete as they goe to the Mount Palatine. There was *Catiline* with others, as though he ment to cleere him selfe of the suspition that went of him: howbeit there was not a Senator that would sit downe by him, but they did all rise from the benche where *Catiline* had taken his place. And further, when he began to speake, he could have no audience for the great noyse they made against him. So at length *Cicero* rose, and commaunded him to avoid out of ROME: saying, that there must needs be a separacion of walles betweene them two, considering that the one used but words, & the other force of armes.

*Fulvia be-
wrayeth
Catilines
intent to kill
Cicero.*

*Catiline
departed
Rome.*

Catiline thereupon immediatly departing the citie with three hundred armed men, was no sooner out of the precinct of the walles, but he made his Sergeaunts cary axes and bundells of rodde before him, as if he had beene a Consul lawfully created, and did display his ensignes of warre, and so went in this order to seeke *Manlius*. When they were joyned, he had not much lesse then twenty thousand men together, with the which he went to practise the townes to rebell. Nowe open warre beeing thus proclaimed, *Antonius*, *Ciceroes* colleage and fellowe Consul, was sent against him to fight with him. In the meane space, *Cornelius Lentulus* surnamed *Sura* (a man of a noble house, but of a wicked disposition, and that for his ill life was put of the Senate) assembled all the rest which were of *Catilines* conspiracie, and that remained behind him in *ROME*, and bad them be affraid of nothing. He was then Prætor the second time, as the manner is when any man comes to recover againe the dignitie of a Senator which he had lost. It is reported that this surname of *Sura* was given him upon this occasion. He being Treasurer in *Syllaes* Dictatorship, did fondly waste and consume a marvelous summe of money of the common treasure. *Sylla* being offended with him for it, and demaunding an accompt of him before the Senate: he carelesly and contemptuously stepped forth, saying he could make him no other accompt, but shewed him the calfe of his legge, as children doe, when they make a fault at tennys. And thereof it came that ever after that they called him *Sura*, bicause *Sura* in Latin signifieth, the calfe of the legge. Another time also being accused for a lewde part he had committed, he bribed some of the Judges with money, and being onely quit by two voyces more which he had in his favor, he sayd he had lost his money he had given to one of those two Judges, bicause it was enough for him to be cleered by one voice more. This man being

*C. Lentulus
why called
Sura.*

of this disposition, was first of all incensed by *Catiline*, and lastly marred by certaine wisards and false prognosticators that had mocked him with a vaine hope, singing verses unto him which they had fayned and devised, and false prophecies also, which they bare him in hande they had taken out of *Sybilles* bookes of prophecie, which sayd: that there should raigne three *Cornelij* at ROME, of the which, two had already fulfilled the prophecie, *Cinna* and *Sylla*, and for the third, fortune layd it upon him, and therefore bad him goe thorow withall, & not to dreame it out losing oportunitie as *Catiline* had done. Now this *Lentulus* undertooke no small enterprise, but had an intent with him to kil all the whole Senate, and as many other Citizens as they could murther, and to set fire of ROME, sparing none but *Pompeys* sonnes, whome they would reserve for pledges, to make their peace afterwards with *Pompey*. For the rumor was very great and certein also, that he returned from very great warres and conquests which he had made in the East contries. So they layed a plat to put their treason in execution, in one of the nights of *Saturnes* feastes. Further, they had brought flaxe and brimstone, and a great number of armors and weapons into *Cethegus* house. Besides all this provision, they had appoynted a hundred men in an hundred partes of the citie, to the ende that fire being raysed in many places at one tyme, it should the sooner ronne through the whole citie. Other men also were appoynted to stoppe the pypes and water conduits which brought water to ROME, & to kill those also that came for water to quench the fire. In all this sturre, by chaunce there were two Ambassadors of the ALLOBROGES, whose contry at that tyme did much mislike of the ROMANES, and were unwilling to be subject unto them. *Lentulus* thought these men very fit instruments to cause all GAVLE to rebell. Thereuppon practising with them, he wanne them to be

*Oracles of
three Corne-
lij that
should raigne
at Rome.*

*Great trea-
son practised
in Rome by
C. Lentulus,
and Cethe-
gus.*

*The conspir-
atours ap-
prehended.*

of their conspiracie, and gave them letters directed to the counsell of their contrie, and in them did promise them freedom. He sent other letters also unto *Catilin*, and perswaded him to proclaime libertie to all bondmen, and to come with all the speede he could to ROME: and sent with them one *Titus* of the citie of CROTONA, to cary these letters. But all their counsell and purposes (like fooles that never met together but at feastes, drincking droncke with light women) were easily found out by *Cicero*: who had a carefull eye upon them, & very wisely and discretely sawe thorow them. For he had appoynted men out of the citie to spie their doings, which followed them to see what they intended. Furthermore he spake secretly with some he trusted, (the which others also tooke to be of the conspiracie) and knewe by them that *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* had practised with the Ambassadors of the ALLOBROGES, and drawen them into their conspiracie. At length he watched them one night so narrowly, that he tooke the Ambassadors, and *Titus* CROTONIAN with the letters he caried, by helpe of the Ambassadors of the ALLOBROGES, which had secretly informed him of all before. The next morning by breake of day, *Cicero* assembled the Senate in the temple of Concorde, and there openly red the letters, and heard the evidence of the witnesses. Further, there was one *Junius Syllanus* a Senator that gave in evidence, that some heard *Cethegus* say they should kill three Consuls, and foure Prætors. *Piso* a Senator also, and that had bene Consul, tolde in manner the selfe same tale. And *Caius Sulpitius* a Prætor, that was sent into *Cethegus* house, reported that he had found great store of darts, armor, daggers and swordes new made. Lastly, the Senate having promised *Titus* CROTONIAN he should have no hurt, so he would tell what he knew of this conspiracie: *Lentulus* thereby was convinced, & driven to give uppe his office

of Prætor before the Senate, and chaunging his purple gowne, to take another meete for his miserable state. This being done, *Lentulus* and his consorts were committed to warde, to the Prætors houses. Now growing towards evening, the people waiting about the place where the Senate was assembled, *Cicero* at length came out, and told them what they had done within. There-uppon he was conveyed by all the people unto a friendes house of his hard by: for that his owne house was occupied by the Ladies of the citie, who were busy solemnly celebrating a secret sacrifice in the honor of the goddess, called of the ROMANES the good goddess, and of the GRÆCIANS *Gynæcia*, to wit feminine: unto her this yearly sacrifice is done at the Consuls house, by the wife or mother of the Consul then being, the Vestal Nunnes being present at it. Now *Cicero* being comen into his neighbours house, beganne to bethinke him what course he were best to take in this matter. For, to punish the offenders with severitie, according to their deserts, he was afraid to doe it: both bicause he was of a curteous nature, as also for that he would not seeme to be glad to have occasion to shew his absolute power and authoritie, to punish (as he might) with rigour, Citizens that were of the noblest houses of the citie, and that had besides many friends. And contrariwise also, being remisse in so waightie a matter as this, he was affraid of the daunger that might ensue of their rashnes, mistrusting that if he should punish them with lesse then death, they would not amend for it, imagining they were well rid of their trouble, but would rather become more bold and desperate then ever they were: adding moreover the styng and spight of a newe malice unto their accustomed wickednes, besides that he him selfe should be thought a coward and tymerous man, whereas they had already not much better opinion of him. *Cicero* being perplexed thus

with these doubts, there appeared a miracle to the Ladies, doing sacrifice at home in his house. For the fire that was thought to be cleane out upon the aulter where they had sacrificed, there sodainely rose out of the imbers of the ryend or barkes which they had burnt, a great bright flame, which amased all the other Ladies. Howbeit the Vestall Nunnes willed *Terentia* (*Ciceroes* wife) to go straight unto her husband, and to bid him not to be affraid to execute that boldly which he had considered of, for the benefit of the common wealth: and that the goddesse had raised this great flame, to shewe him that he should have great honor by doing of it. *Terentia*, that was no timorous nor faint harted woman, but very ambitious, and furthermore had gotten more knowledge from her husband of the affayres of the state, then otherwise she had acquainted him with her housewivery in the house, as *Cicero* him selfe reporteth: she went to make report thereof unto him, and prayed him to doe execution of those men. The like did *Quintus Cicero* his brother, and also *Publius Nigidius*, his friend and fellow student with him in Philosophie, and whose counsell also *Cicero* followed much in the government of the common wealth. The next morning, the matter being propounded to the arbitrement of the Senate, how these malefactors should be punished: *Syllanus* being asked his opinion first, said that they should be put in prison, and from thence to suffer execution. Others likewise that followed him, were all of that minde, but *Caius Caesar*, that afterwards came to be Dictator, and was then but a young man, and began to come forward, but yet such a one, as by his behavior and the hope he had, tooke such a course, that afterwards he brought the common wealth of ROME into an absolute Monarchie. For at that time, *Cicero* had vehement suspicions of *Caesar*, but no apparent prooffe to convince him. And some say, that it was brought so neare,

Syllanus sentence of the conspirators.

as he was almost convicted, but yet saved him selfe. Other write to the contrary, that *Cicero* wittingly dissembled, that he either heard or knew any signes which were told him against *Cæsar*, being affraid in deede of his friends and estimation. For it was a cleere case, that if they had accused *Cæsar* with the rest, he undoubtedly had sooner saved all their lives, then he should have lost his owne. Nowe when *Cæsar* came to deliver his opinion touching the punishment of these prisoners: he stoode up & sayde, that he did not thinke it good to put them to death, but to confiscate their goods: and as for their persons, that they should bestow them in prison, some in one place, some in another, in such cities of ITALY, as pleased *Cicero* best, untill the warre of *Catilin* were ended. This sentence being very mild, and the author thereof marvelous eloquent to make it good: *Cicero* him self added thereunto a counterpease, inclining unto either of both the opinions, partly allowing the first, and partly also the opinion of *Cæsar*. His friends thinking that *Cæsar*'s opinion was the safest for *Cicero*, bicause thereby he should deserve lesse blame for that he had not put the prisoners to death: they followed rather the second. Whereuppon *Syllanus* also recanted that he had spoken, & expounded his opinion: saying, that when he spake they should be put to death, he ment nothing so, but thought the last punishment a Senator of ROME could have, was the prison. But the first that contraried this opinion, was *Catulus Lutatius*, and after him *Cato*, who with vehement wordes enforced *Cæsar*'s suspition, and furthermore filled all the Senate with wrath and corage: so that even upon the instant it was decreed by most voyces, that they should suffer death. But *Cæsar* stept up again, & spake against the confiscation of their goods, misliking that they should reject the gentlest part of his opinion, and that contrariwise they should sticke unto the severest onely: how-

*Cæsar privie
to Catilines
conspiracie.*

*Cæsar's opi-
nion for the
punishment
of the con-
spirators.*

beit because the greatest number prevailed against him, he called the Tribunes to ayde him, to the ende they should withstand it: but they would give no eare unto him. *Cicero* thereupon yelding of him self, did remit the confiscation of their goods, and went with the Senate to fetch the prisoners: who were not all in one house, but every Prætor had one of them. So he went first to take *C. Lentulus*, who was in the Mount Palatine, & brought him through the holy streete and the market place, accompanied with the chiefeest men of the citie, who compassed him round about, and garded his person. The people seeing that, quaked and trembled for feare, passed by, and sayd never a word: and specially the younge men, who thought it had bene some solemne misterie for the health of their contry, that was so accompanied with the chiefe Magistrate, and the noble men of the citie, with terror & feare. So when he had passed through the market place, and was come to the prison, he delivered *Lentulus* into the handes of the hangman, and commaunded him to doe execution. Afterwardes also *Cethegus*, and then all the rest one after another, whome he brought to the prison him selfe, and caused them to be executed. Furthermore, seeing divers of their accomplices in a trowpe together in the market place, who knewe nothing what he had done, and watched onely till night were come, supposing then to take away their companions by force from the place where they were, thinking they were yet alive: he turned unto them, and spake aloud, they lived. This is a phrase of speeche which the ROMANES use sometyme, when they will finely convey the hardnes of the speeche, to say he is dead. When night was comen, and that he was going homeward, as he came through the market place, the people did wayte upon him no more with silence as before, but with great cryes of his praise, and clapping of handes in every place

The execution of the conspirators.

They lived: A word usurped for the dead.

Ciceroes praise.

he went, and called him Savior, and second fownder of ROME. Besides all this, at every mans dore there were lynckes and torches lighted, that it was as light in the streetes, as at noone dayes. The very women also did put lights out of the toppes of their houses to doe him honor, and also to see him so nobly brought home, with such a long trayne of the chiefeſt men of the citie, (of the which many of them had ended great warres for the which they had triumphed, and had obteyned many famous conquests to the Empire of ROME, both by sea and land) confessing betwene them selves one to another, that the ROMANES were greatly bound to many Captaines and generalls of armies in their time, for the wonderfull riches, spoyles, and increase of their power which they had wonne: howbeit that they were to thanke *Cicero* onely, for their health and preservation, having saved them from so great and extreme a daunger. Not for that they thought it so wonderfull an acte to have striken dead the enterprise of the conspirators, and also to have punished the offenders by death: but bicause the conspiracie of *Catilin* being so great and daungerous an insurrection as ever was any, he had quenched it, and pluckt it up by the rootes, with so small hurt, and without uprore, trouble, or actuall sedition. For, the most part of them that were gathered together about *Catiline*, when they heard that *Lentulus* and all the rest were put to death, they presently forsooke him: and *Catiline* him selfe also fighting a battell with them he had about him, against *Antonius* the other Consul with *Cicero*, he was slayne in the felde, and all his armie defeated. This notwithstanding, there were many that spake ill of *Cicero* for this acte, and ment to make him repent it, having for their heades *Cæsar*, (who was already chosen Prætor for the yeare to come) *Metellus* & *Bestia*, who should also be chosen Tribunes. They, so soone as they were chosen Tribunes, would not once

*Catilin
slaine in
battell by
Antonius.*

*Cæsar chosen
Prætor.*

*Mettellus
and Bestia,*

*Tribunes of
the people.*

*Cicero re-
signeth his
office.*

*Ciceroes
Consulship
praised by
Cato.*

*Cicero the
first man
called, Fath-
er of the con-
try.*

suffer *Cicero* to speake to the people, notwithstanding that he was yet in his office of Consul for certaine dayes. And furthermore, to let him that he should not speake unto the people, they did set their benches upon the pulpit for orations, which they call at ROME, Rostra: and would never suffer him to set foote in it, but onely to resigne his office, and that done, to come downe againe immediatly. He graunted thereunto, and went up to the pulpit upon that condition. So silence being made him, he made an othe, not like unto other Consuls othes when they resigne their office in like manner, but straunge, and never heard of before: swearing, that he had saved the citie of ROME, and preserved all his contry and the Empire of ROME from utter ruine and destruction. All the people that were present, confirmed it, and sware the like othe. Wherewithall *Cæsar* and the other Tribunes his enemies were so offended with him, that they devised to breede him some new sturre and trouble: and amongst others, they made a decree, that *Pompey* should be sent for with his army to bridle the tyranny of *Cicero*. *Cato*, (who at that time was also Tribune) did him great pleasure in the furtherance of the common wealth, opposing him selfe against all their practises, with the like authoritie and power that they had, being a Tribune and brother with them, and of better estimation then they. So that he did not onely easily breake all their devises, but also in a goodly oration he made in a full assembly of the people, he so highly praised and extolled *Ciceroes* Consulship unto them, and the thinges he did in his office: that they gave him the greatest honors that ever were decreed or graunted unto any man living. For by decree of the people he was called, father of the contry, as *Cato* him selfe had called him in his oration: the which name was never given to any man, but onely unto him, and also he bare greater swaye in ROME at that time, then

any man beside him. This notwithstanding, he made him selfe envyed and misliked of many men, not for any ill acte he did, or ment to doe: but onely bicause he did too much boast of him selfe. For he never was in any assembly of people, Senate, or judgement, but every mans head was full still to heare the sound of *Catulus* and *Lentulus* brought in for sporte, and filling the bookes and workes he compiled besides full of his owné prayses: the which made his sweete and pleasant stile, tedious, & troublesome to those that heard him, as though this misfortune ever followed him to take away his excellent grace. But nowe, though he had this worme of ambition, and extreme covetous desire of honor in his head, yet did he not malice or envy any others glory, but would very franckly praise excellent men, as well those that had bene before him, as those that were in his time. And this appeareth plainly in his writings. They have written also certaine notable wordes he spake of some auncient men in olde time, as of *Aristotle*: that he was like a golden flowing river: and of *Plato*, that if *Jupiter* him selfe would speake, he would speake like him: and of *Theophrastus*, he was wont to call him his delight: and of *Demosthenes* orations, when one asked him on a time which of them he liked best: the longest saide he. There be divers writers also, who to shewe that they were great followers of *Demosthenes*, doe followe *Ciceroes* saying in a certaine epistle he wrote unto one of his friends, wherein he said that *Demosthenes* slept in some of his orations: but yet they forget to tel how highly he praised him in that place, and that he calleth the orations which he wrote against *Antonius* (in the which he tooke great paines, & studied more then all the rest) PHILIPPIANS: to followe those which *Demosthenes* wrote against *Philip* king of MACEDON. Furthermore, there was not a famous man in all his tyme, either in eloquence, or in learning, whose fame he

Cicero too much given to praise him self.

Cicero friendly to praise others.

Cicero sayth, Demosthenes sleepeth in his orations.

hath not commended in writing, or otherwise in honorable speech of him. For he obtayned of *Cæsar*, when he had the Empire of ROME in his handes, that *Cratippus* the PERIPATETICKE Philosopher was made Citizen of ROME. Further, he procured that by decree of the court of the Areopagites, he was intreated to remaine at ATHENS, to teach and instruct the youth there: for that he was a great honor & ornament unto their city. There are extant also of *Ciceroes* epistles unto *Herodes*, & others unto his sonne, willing him to follow *Cratippus* in his studie & knowledge. He wrote an other letter also unto *Gorgias* the Rethoritian, and forbad him his sonnes company: bicause he understood he intised him to dronkennes, and to other great dishonestie. Of all his epistles he wrote in greeke, there is but that onely written in choller, and another which he wrote unto *Pelops* BYZANTINE. And for that he wrote to *Gorgias*, he had great reason to be offended with him, and to tawnt him in his letter: bicause (as it seemed) he was a man of very lewde life and conversation. But in contrary manner, writing as he did to *Pelops*, finding him selfe greved with him, for that he was negligent in procuring the BYZANTINES to ordeine some publike honors in his behalfe: that me thinkes proceeded of overmuch ambition, the which in many things made him too much forget the part of an honest man, & onely bicause he would be commended for his eloquence. When he had on a time pleaded *Munatius* cause before the Judges, who shortly after accused *Sabinus* a friend of his: it is reported that he was so angry with him, that he told him, what *Munatius*, hast thou forgotten that thou were discharged the last day of thine accusation, not for thine innocency, but for a miste I cast before the Judges eies, that made them they could not discern the fault? An other tyme also, having openly praysed *Marcus Crassus* in the pulpit, with good audience of the people: shortly

Ciceroes subtile and pleasant sayings.

after he spake to the contrary, all the evill he could of him, in the same place. Why, how now, sayde *Crassus*: didest thou not thy selfe highly prayse me in this place, the last day? I can not deny it, sayd *Cicero*: but in deede I tooke an ill matter in hand to shewe mine eloquence. An other time *Crassus* chaunced to say in an open assembly, that none of all the *Crassi* of his house had ever lived above lx.yeaeres: and afterwards againe repenting him selfe, he called it in againe, and sayde, Sure I knewe not what I did, when I said so. *Cicero* aunswered him againe: thou knewest well enough the people were glad to heare it, and therefore spakest it to please them. Another time *Crassus* liking the opinion of the Stoicke Philosophers, *The Stoickes opinion: A wise man is ever riche.* that sayd the wise man was ever riche: *Cicero* aunswered him, and bad him consider whether they ment not thereby, that the wise man had all thinges. *Crassus* covetousnes was defamed of every man. Of *Crassus* sonnes, one of them did much resemble *Atius*, and therefore his mother had an ill name by him: one daye this sonne of *Crassus* made an oration before the Senate, which divers of them commended very muche. So, *Cicero* beeing asked how he liked it: me thinkes, sayde he, it is* *Atius* of *Crassus*. About this tyme, *Crassus* being ready to take his journey into SYRIA, he desired to have *Cicero* his friend, rather then his enemy. Therefore one night making muche of him, he tolde *Cicero* that he would come and suppe with him. *Cicero* sayde he should be welcome. Shortly after some of his friendes told him of *Vatinius*, how he was desirous to be made friendes with him, for he was his enemy. What, quod *Cicero*, and will he come to supper too? Thus he used *Crassus*. Now this *Vitinius* having a swollen necke, one daye pleading before *Cicero*: he called him the swollen Orator. Another tyme when he heard say that he was dead, and then that he was alive againe: a vengeance on him, sayde he, that hath lyed so shame-

*' Αἰῖος
Atius, is a proper name of a Romane, and Κράσσου ἄξιος in Greeke signifieth, worthy: So the grace of the equivocation can not be expressed in any other language.

*Because the
Africans
have common-
ly their eares
bored through

fully. Another tyme when *Cæsar* had made a lawe for the deviding of the lands of CAMPANIA unto the souldiers: divers of the Senate were angry with him for it, and among other, *Lucius Gellius* (a very olde man) said, he would never graunt it while he lived. *Cicero* pleasantly aunswered againe, alas, tary a litle, the good olde man will not trouble you long. Another tyme there was one *Octavius*, supposed to be* an AFRICAN borne. He when *Cicero* on a tyme pleaded a matter, saide that he heard him not: *Cicero* presently aunswered him againe, and yet hast thou a hole bored through thine eare. Another time *Metellus Nepos* told him, that he had overthrown moe men by his witnes, then he had saved by his eloquence. I graunt said *Cicero*, for in deede I have more faith, then eloquence in me. So was there also a younge man that was suspected to have poysoned his father with a tarte, that boasted he would revile *Cicero*: I had rather have that of thee, quod *Cicero*, then thy tarte. *Publius Sextius* also having a matter before the Judges, enterteyned *Cicero*, with other of his Counsellors: but yet he would speake all him selfe, and give none of the Orators leave to say any thing. In the ende, when they sawe plainly that the Judges would discharge him, being ready to give sentence: *Cicero* saide unto him, besturre thee hardily to day for to morrowe *Sextius* thou shalt be a private man. Another, one *Publius Scotta*, who would fayne have bene thought a wise Lawyer, and yet had litle witte and understanding: *Cicero* appealed to him as a witnes in a matter, and being examined, he aunswered he knewe nothing of it. *Cicero* replied to him againe: thou thinkest peradventure they aske thee touching the law. Againe, *Metellus Nepos*, in a certaine disputacion he had with *Cicero*, did many times repeate, who is thy father? *Cicero* aunswered him againe: thy mother hath made this question harder for thee to aunswer. This *Nepos* mother

was reported to be a light housewife, and he as suttle witted and unconstant. For he being Tribune, left in a geere the exercise of his office, and went into SYRIA to *Pompey*, upon no occasion: and as fondly againe he returned thence, upon a sodaine. His Schoolemaister *Philager* also being dead, he buried him very honestly, and set a crowe of stone upon the toppe of his tombe. *Cicero* finding it, tolde him thou hast done very wisely: for thy Maister hath taught thee rather to flie, then to speake. Another time *Appius Clodius* pleading a matter, saide in his preamble that his friende had earnestly requested him to employe all his knowledge, diligence, and faith upon this matter. O goddes, saide *Cicero*, and hast thou shewed thy selfe so harde harted to thy friende, that thou hast performed none of all these he requested thee? Nowe to use these fine tawnts and girds to his enemies, it was a parte of a good Orator: but so commonly to girde every man to make the people laughe, that wanne him greate ill will of many, as shall appeare by some examples I will tell you. *Marcus Aquinius* had two sonnes in lawe, who were both banished: *Cicero* therefore called him *Adrastus*. *Lucius Cotta* by chaunce also was Censor at that tyme, when *Cicero* sued to be Consul: and beeing there at the daye of the election, he was a thyrst, and was driven to drinke. But while he dranke, all his friendes stooode about him, and after he had dronke, he saide unto them. It is well done of ye, sayde he, to be affrayed least the Censor shoulde be angry with me, bicause I drinke water: for it was reported the Censor loved wine well. Another tyme *Cicero* meeting one *Voconius*, with three fowle Daughters of his with him, he cryed out alowd:

This man hath gotten children in despight of Phæbus.

It was thought in ROME that *Marcus Gellius* was not borne of free parents by father and mother, who reading

*The malice
betwixt Ci-
cero and
Clodius.*

certaine letters one daye in the Senate very lowde: *Cicero* sayde unto them that were about him, wonder not at it, quod he, for this man hath beene a cryer in his dayes. *Faustus*, the sonne of *Sylla* Dictator at *ROME*, which sette uppe billes outlawing divers *ROMANES*, making it lawefull for any man to kill them without daunger where they founde them: this man after he had spent the moste parte of his fathers goods, was so sore in debt, that he was driven to sell his houshold stuffe, by billes sette up on every poste. *Cicero* when he sawe them, yea mary saide he, these billes please me better, then those which his father sette uppe. These tawntes and common quippes without purpose, made divers men to malice him. The great ill will that *Clodius* bare him, beganne uppon this occasion. *Clodius* was of a noble house, a younge man, and very wilde and insolent. He being in love with *Pompeia Cæsars* wife, founde the meanes secretly to gette into *Cæsars* house, apparelled like a younge singing wenche, bicause on that daye the Ladyes of *ROME* did solemnly celebrate a secret sacrifice in *Cæsars* house, which is not lawefull for men to be present at. So there was no man there but *Clodius*, who thought he shoulde not have bene knowen, bicause he was but a younge man without any heare on his face, and that by this meanes he might come to *Pompeia* amongst the other women. He beeing gotten into this great house by night, not knowing the roomes and chambers in it: there was one of *Cæsars* mothers maydes of her chamber called *Aurelia*, who seeing him wandring up and downe the house in this sorte, asked him what he was, and how they called him. So being forced to aunswer, he saide he sought for *Aura*, one of *Pompeias* maides. The maide perceived straight it was no womans voice, & therewithal gave a great shriche, and called the other women: the which did see the gates fast shut, and then sought every corner up and downe, so

that at length they found him in the maides chamber, with whom he came in. His offence was straight blowen abroad in the citie, whereuppon *Cæsar* put his wife away: and one of the Tribunes also accused *Clodius*, and burdened him that he had prophaned the holy ceremonies of the sacrifices. *Cicero* at that time was yet his friend, beeing one that had very friendly done for him at all times, and had ever accompanied him to garde him, if any man would have offered him injurie in the busie time of the conspiracie of *Catiline*. *Clodius* stowtly denied the matter he was burdened with, and saide that he was not in *ROME* at that time, but farre from thence. Howbeit *Cicero* gave evidence against him, and deposed, that the selfe same daye he came home to his house unto him, to speake with him about certaine matters. This in deede was true, though it seemeth *Cicero* gave not this evidence so muche for the truthe sake, as to please his wife *Terentia*: for she hated *Clodius* to the deathe, bicause of his sister *Clodia* that would have married *Cicero*, and did secretly practise the mariage by one *Tullius*, who was *Ciceroes* very friende, and bicause he repayred very often to this *Clodia* that dwelt harde by *Cicero*, *Terentia* beganne to suspect him. *Terentia* beeing a cruell woman, & wearing her husbandes breeches: allured *Cicero* to sette uppon *Clodius* in his adversitie, and to witnesse agaynst him, as many other honest men of the citie also did: Some that he was perjured, others that he committed a thowsande lewde partes, that he brybed the people with money, that he had intised and deflowred many women. *Lucullus* also brought forth certayne Maydens which deposed that *Clodius* had deflowred the youngest of his own sisters, she beeing in house with him, and maryed. And there went a greate rumor also, that he knewe his two other sisters, of the which the one was called *Terentia*, & married unto king *Martius*: and the other *Clodia*, whome

Cicero gave evidence against Clodius.

The wicked parts of Clodius.

**Some olde bookees doe read Teritia.*

ellus Celer had married, and whom they commonly called *Quadrantaria*: because one of her Paramours sent her a purse full of quadrynes (which are little peeces of copper money) in stead of silver. *Clodius* was slandered more by her, then with any of the other two. Notwithstanding, the people were very much offended with them, that gave evidence against him, and accused him. The Judges being affrayed of it, got a great number of armed men about them, at the day of his judgement, for the safetie of their persons: and in the tables where they wrote their sentences, their letters for the most part were confusedly set downe. This notwithstanding, it was found that he was quit by the greatest number: and it was reported also that some of them were close fisted. *Catulus* therefore meeting with some of them going home, after they had given their sentence, told them: surely ye had good reason to be well garded for your safetie, for you were affraid your money should have bene taken from you, which you tooke for bribes. And *Cicero* sayd unto *Clodius*, who reproved him that his witnes was not true he gave against him: cleane contrary, quod *Cicero*, for five and twenty of the Judges have beleved me, beeing so many that have condemned thee, and the thirty would not beleve thee, for they would not quit thee before they had fingered money. Notwithstanding, in this judgement *Cæsar* never gave evidence against *Clodius*: and said moreover, that he did not think his wife had committed any adultery, howbeit that he had put her away, because he would that *Cæsars* wife should not only be clean from any dishonesty, but also void of all suspition. *Clodius* being quit of this accusation and trouble, and having also found meanes to be chosen Tribune: he beganne straight to persecute *Cicero*, chauning all thinges, and stirring up all manner of people against him. First he wanne the good will of the common people by devising of newe

*Clodius quit,
and found not
guilty.*

*Cæsars
wordes of the
putting away
his wife
Pompeia.*

*Clodius cho-
sen Tribune
of the people.*

lawes which he preferred, for their benefit and commoditie: to both the Consuls he graunted great and large provinces: unto *Piso*, MACEDON, and to *Gabinus*, SYRIA. He made also many poore men free Citizens, and had alwayes about him a great number of slaves armed. At that present tyme there were three notable men in ROME, which caried all the swaye: *Crassus*, that shewed him selfe an openemie unto *Cicero*: *Pompey* the other, made muche both of the one and the other: the third was *Cæsar*, who was prepared for his journey into GAVLE with an armie. *Cicero* did leane unto him, (though he knewe him no fast friende of his, and that he mistrusted him for matters past in *Catilines* conspiracie) and prayed him that he might goe to the warres with him, as one of his Lieutenants. *Cæsar* graunted him. Thereuppon *Clodius* perceiving that by this meanes he got him out of the daunger of his office of Tribuneship for that yeare, he made fayer weather with him (as though he ment to reconcile him selfe unto him) and tolde him that he had cause rather to thinke ill of *Terentia*, for that he had done against him, then of him selfe, and alwayes spake very curteously of him as occasion fell out, and sayde he did thinke nothing in him, nether had any malice to him, howbeit it did a litle grieve him, that being a friend, he was offered unkindnes by his friend. These sweete wordes made *Cicero* no more affraied, so that he gave up his Lieutenancie unto *Cæsar*, & beganne againe to pleade as he did before. *Cæsar* tooke this in such disdaine, that he hardened *Clodius* the more against him, and besides, made *Pompey* hisemie. And *Cæsar* him selfe also sayd before all the people, that he thought *Cicero* had put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the rest, unjustly to death, and contrary to lawe, without lawfull tryall and condemnation. And this was the fault for the which *Cicero* was openly accused. Thereuppon *Cicero* seeing him selfe accused for this facte, he

Piso and Gabinus Consuls.

Crassus, Pompey, and Cæsar, three of the greatest men in Rome, tooke part with Clodius against Cicero.

Cicero accused of Clodius.

*The knights
of Rome and
Senate chaun-
ged garments
for Ciceroes
sake.*

*Pompey
would not
see Cicero
being ac-
cused.*

chaunged his usuall gowne he wore, and put on a mourning gowne: and so suffering his beard and heare of his head to growe without any coeming, he went in this humble manner, and sued to the people. But *Clodius* was ever about him in every place and streete he went, having a sight of raskalls and knaves with him that shamefully mocked him for that he had chaunged his gowne and countenance in that sort, and oftentimes they cast durt and stones at him, breaking his talke and requests he made unto the people. This notwithstanding, all the knights of ROME did in manner chaunge their gownes with him for companie, & of them there were commonly twenty thowsand younge gentlemen of noble house which followed him with their heare about their eares, and were suters to the people for him. Furthermore, the Senate assembled to decreethat the people should mourne in blacks, as in a common calamitie: But the Consuls were against it. And *Clodius* on thother side was with a band of armed men about the Senate, so that many of the Senators ranne out of the Senat, crying, and tearing their clothes for sorow. Howbeit these men seeing all that, were nothing the more moved with pity and shame: but either *Cicero* must needs absent him selfe, or els determine to fight with *Clodius*. Then went *Cicero* to intreat *Pompey* to ayde him: But he absented him selfe of purpose out of the citie, bicause he would not be intreated, and laye at one of his houses in the contry, neare unto the citie of ALBA. So he first of all sent *Piso* his sonne in lawe unto him to intreate him, and afterwardes went him selfe in person to him. But *Pompey* beeing tolde that he was come, had not the harte to suffer him to come to him, to looke him in the face: for he had bene past all shame to have refused the request of so worthy a man, who had before shewed him suche pleasure, and also done and sayde so many thinges in his favor. Howbeit *Pompey* bee-

ing the sonne in lawe of *Cæsar*, did unfortunately (at his request) forsake him at his neede, unto whome he was bownde for so many infinite pleasures, as he had receyved of him afore: and therefore when he hearde saye he came to him, he went out at his backe gate and woulde not speake with him. So *Cicero* seeing him selfe betrayed of him, and nowe having no other refuge to whome he might repayre unto: he put him selfe into the handes of the two Consuls. Of them two, *Gabinus* was ever cruell, and churlishe unto him. But *Piso* on thother side spake alwayes very curteously unto him, and prayed him to absent him selfe for a tyme, and to give place a litle to *Clodius* furie, and patiently to beare the chaunge of the tyme: For in so doing, he might come agayne another tyme to be the preserver of his contry, which was nowe for his sake in tumult and sedition. *Cicero* upon this answer of the Consul, consulted with his friendes: amonge the which *Lucullus* gave him advise to tary, and sayd that he should be the stronger. But all the rest were of contrary opinion, and would have him to get him away with speede: for the people would shortly wishe for him agayne, when they had once bene beaten with *Clodius* furie and folly. *Cicero* liked best to followe this counsell. Whereuppon having had a statue of *Minerva* a long tyme in his house, the which he greatly revered: he caried her him selfe, and gave her to the Capitoll with this inscription: *Unto Minerva, Protector of ROME*. So, his friends *Ciceroes* having given him safe conduct, he went out of *ROME* *exile*. about midnight, and tooke his way through the contry of *LVKE* by lande, meaning to goe into *SICILE*. When it was knowen in *ROME* that he was fledde, *Clodius* did presently banishe him by decree of the people, and caused billes of inhibition to be sette uppe, that no man should secretly receive him within five hundred myles compasse of *ITALY*. Howbeit divers men reverencing

*Hipponium,
alias Vibone:
a city in
Luke.*

*A wonder
shewed unto
Cicero in his
exile.*

*Ciceroes
faint hart
in his exile.*

Cicero, made no reckoning of that inhibition: but when they had used him with all manner of curtesie possible, they did conduct him besides at his departure, saving one citie only in *LYKE*, called at that tyme *HIPPONIUM*, and now *VIBONE*: where a *SICILIAN* called *Vibius*, (unto whome *Cicero* before had done many pleasures, and specially amonge others, had made him Maister of the workes in the yeare that he was Consul) would not once receyve him into his house, but promised him he would appoynt him a place in the contry that he might goe unto. And *Caius Virgilius* also, at that tyme Prætor and governor of *SICILE*, who before had shewed him selfe his very greate friende: wrote then unto him, that he shoulde not come neare unto *SICILE*. This grieved him to the harte. Thereuppon he went directly unto the citie of *BRUNDISIUM*, and there imbarked to passe over the sea unto *DYRRACHIUM*, and at the first had winde at will: but when he was in the mayne sea, the winde turned, and brought him backe agayne to the place from whence he came. But after that, he hoysed sayle agayne, and the reporte went, that at his arryvall at *DYRRACHIUM* when he tooke lande, the earth shooke under him, and the sea gave backe together: Whereby the Soother-sayers enterpreted, that his exile shoulde not be longe, bicause the one and the other was a token of chaunge. Yet *Cicero*, notwithstanding that many men came to see him for the goodwill they bare him, and that the cities of *GRÆCE* contended who shoulde most honor him, he was alwayes sadde, and could not be merie, but cast his eyes still towardes *ITALY*, as passioned lovers doe towardes the women they love: shewing him selfe faynt harted, and tooke this adversitie more basely, then was looked for of one so well studied and learned as he. And yet he oftentimes praied his friends, not to call him Orator, but rather Philosopher: saying, that Philosophie was

his chiefeſt profeſſion, and that for his eloquence he did not uſe it, but as a neceſſary inſtrument to one that pleadeth in the common wealth. But glory, and opinion, *The wonder- full power of glory.* hath great power to take mans reaſon from him, even like a culler, from the minds of them that are common pleaders in matters of ſtate, and to make them feele the ſelfe ſame paſſions that common people doe, by dayly frequenting their companie: unles they take great heede of them, and that they come to praſtiſe in the common wealth with this reſolute minde, to have to doe with the like matters that the common people have, but not to entangle them ſelves with the like paſſions and moodes, by the which their matters doe riſe. Nowe *Clodius* was not contented that he had baniſhed *Cicero* out of ITALY, but further he burnt all his houſes in the contry, and his houſe alſo in ROME ſtanding in the market place, of the which he built a temple of libertie, and cauſed his goods to be ſolde by the cryer: ſo that the cryer was occupied all daye long crying the goods to be ſold, and no man offered to buye any of them. The chiefeſt men of the citie beginning to be afraid of theſe violent parts, and having the common people at his commaundement, whom he had made very bold and insolent: he beganne to invey againſt *Pompey*, and ſpake ill of his doings in the time of his warres, the which every man els but him ſelfe did commend. *Pompey* then was very angry with him ſelfe that he had ſo forſaken *Cicero*, and repented him of it, and by his friendes procured all the meanes he could to call him home againe from his baniſhment. *Clodius* was againſt it all he could. The Senate notwithstanding with one full conſent ordeyned, that nothing ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the common wealth, before *Ciceroes* baniſhment were firſt repealed. *Lentulus* was at that tyme Conſul, and there grewe ſuch an uprore and ſturre apon it, that ſome of the Tribunes were hurt in the market place,

Pompey changing mind, doth favor Cicero.

Lentulus, Conſul.

*Cicero called
home from
banishment.*

*Cicero tak-
eth away the
tables of
Clodius
actes out of
the Capitoll.*

and *Quintus Cicero* (the brother of *Cicero*) was slayne and hidden under the deade bodies. Then the people beganne to chaunge their mindes. And *Annius Milo*, one of the Tribunes, was the first man that durst venter upon *Clodius*, & bringe him by force to be tryed before the Judges. *Pompey* him selfe also having gotten a great number of men about him, aswell of the citie of ROME as of other townes, adjoyning to it, beeing strongly garded with them: he came out of his house, and compelled *Clodius* to get him out of the market place, and then called the people to give their voyces, for the calling home agayne of *Cicero*. It is reported that the people never passed thinge with so great good will, nor so wholly together, as the returne of *Cicero*. And the Senate for their partes also, in the behalfe of *Cicero*, ordeyned that the cities which had honored & received *Cicero* in his exile, shoulde be greatly commended: and that his houses which *Clodius* had overthrowen and rased, should be reedified at the charge of the common wealth. So *Cicero* returned the sixteenth moneth after his banishment, and the townes and cities he came by, shewed them selves so joyfull of his returne, that all manner of men went to meete and honor him, with so great love and affection, that *Ciceroes* reporte thereof afterwarde came in deede short of the very truth as it was. For he sayde, that ITALY brought him into ROME upon their shoulders. Insomuch as *Crassus* him selfe, who before his banishment was his enemy, went then with very good will unto him, & became his friende, saying: that he did it for the love of his sonne, who loved *Cicero* with all his hart. Nowe *Cicero* beeing returned, he found a tyme when *Clodius* was out of the citie, and went with a good companie of his friendes unto the Capitoll, and there tooke away the tables, and brake them, in the which *Clodius* had written all his actes that he had passed and done in the tyme of his Tribuneship. *Clodius* would

afterwardes have accused *Cicero* for it: But *Cicero* answered him, that he was not lawfully created Tribune, bicause he was of the PATRICIANS, and therefore all that he had done in his Tribuneship was voyde, and of none effect. Therewith *Cato* was offended, and spake against him, not for that he liked any of *Clodius* doings: (but to the contrary, utterly misliked all that he did) but bicause he thought it out of all reason, that the Senate shoulde cancell all those thinges which he had done and passed in his Tribuneship, and specially, bicause amongst the rest that was there which he him selfe had done in the Ile of CYPRVS, and in the citie of BYZANTIVM. Hereuppon there grewe some straungenes betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, the which notwithstanding brake not out to open enmitie: but onely to an abstinence of their wonted familiaritie, and accesse one to another. Shortly after, *Milo* *Clodius the Tribune, slain by Milo.* slue *Clodius*. *Milo* beeing accused of murder, prayed *Cicero* to pleade his cause. The Senate fearing that this accusation of *Milo*, (who was a hardie man, and of qualitie besides) woulde move some sedition and uprore in the citie: they gave commission to *Pompey* to see justice executed aswell in this cause, as in other offences, that the citie might be quiet, and judgement also executed with safetie. Thereuppon *Pompey* the night before tooke the highest places of the market place, by his souldiers that were armed, whome he placed thereabout. *Milo* fearing that *Cicero* woulde bee affraied to see suche a number of harnest men about him, beeing no usuall matter, and that it might peradventure hinder him to pleade his cause well: he prayed him he woulde come betymes in the morning in his litter into the market place, and there to staye the comming of the Judges, till the place were full. *Cicero* *fearefull in warres, and timorous in pleading.* For *Cicero* was not onely fearefull in warres, but timorous also in pleading. For in deede he never beganne to speake, but it was in feare: and when his eloquence was

*Cicero plead-
eth Miloes
case.*

*Cicero chosen
Augure.*

*Cicero pro-
consul of
Cilicia.*

come to the best prooffe and perfection, he never left his trembling and timerousnes. Insomuch that pleading a case for *Mutius Muræna* (accused by *Cato*) striving to excell *Hortensius*, whose pleading was very well thought of: he tooke no rest all night, and what through watching, and the trouble of his minde he was not very well, so that he was not so well liked for his pleading, as *Hortensius*. So, going to defend *Miloes* cause, when he came out of his litter, and sawe *Pompey* set aloft as if he had beene in a campe, and the market place compassed about with armed men, glistering in every corner: it so amated him, that he could scant facion him selfe to speake, all the partes of him did so quake and tremble, and his voyce could not come to him. But *Milo* on the other side stoode boldly by him him selfe, without any feare at all of the judgement of his cause, nether did he let his heere growe, as other men accused did: nether did he weare any mourning gowne, the which was (as it seemed) one of the chiefest causes that condemned him. Yet many held opinion that this timerousnes of *Cicero* came rather of the goodwill he bare unto his friends, then of any cowardly minde of him selfe. He was also chosen one of the Priestes of the Soothesayers, which they call Augures, in the roome of *P. Crassus* the younger, who was slayne in the Realme of PARTHIA. Afterwardes, the province of CILICIA being appoynted to him, with an armie of twelve thowsand footemen, and two thowsand five hundred horsemen, he tooke the sea to goe thither. So when he was arrived there, he brought CAPPADOCIA agayne into the subjection and obedience of king *Ariobarzanes* according to his commission and commaundement given by the Senate: moreover, both there and elsewhere he tooke as excellent good order as could be devised, in reducing of thinges to quietnes, without warres. Furthermore, finding that the CILICIANS were grown some-

what stowt and unruly, by the overthrowe the ROMANES had of the PARTHIANS, and by reason of the rising and rebellion in SYRIA: he brought them unto reason by gentle perswasions, and never received giftes that were sent him, no not from Kinges and Princes. Furthermore, he did disburden the provinces of the feastes and banckets they were wont to make other governors before him. On the other side also, he woulde ever have the company of good and learned men at his table, and would use them well, without curiositie and excesse. He had never porter to his gate, nor was seene by any man in his bed: For he would alwayes rise at the breake of daye, and would walke or stande before his dore. He would curteously receive all them that came to salute and visite him. Further they report of him, that he never caused man to be beaten with rodde, nor to teare his owne garments. In his anger he never reviled any man, nether did dispihtfully set fine upon any mans heade. Finding many thinges also belonging to the common wealth, which private men had stollen and imbecelled to their owne use: he restored them agayne unto the cities, whereby they grewe very riche and wealthie: and yet did he save their honor and credit that had taken them away, and did them no other hurte, but onely constrayned them to restore that which was the common wealthes. He made a litle warre also, and drave away the theeves that kept about the Mountayne Amanus, for the which exployte his souldiers called him Imperator, to saye, chiefe Captaine. About that tyme there was an Orator called *Cacilius*, who wrote unto him from ROME, to praye him to sende him some Leoperds, or Panthers out of CILICIA, bicause he woulde shewe the people some pastyme with them. *Cicero* boasting of his doinges, wrote to him agayne, that there were no more Leoperds in CILICIA, but that they were all fledde into CARIA for anger, that seeing all thinges quiet

Ciceroes integrity for the government of his provinces.

Mons Amanus Cicero called Imperator.

Cicero seeketh to pacifie the quarrell betwext Pompey and Cæsar.

Ciceroes words of Pompey and Cæsar.

in CILICIA, they had leasure now to hunte them. So when he returned towards ROME, from the charge of his government, he came by RHODES: and stayed a few dayes at ATHENS, with great delight, to remember how pleasantly he lived there before, at what time he studied there. Thither came to him the chiefest learned men of the citie, & his frendes also, with whom he was acquainted at his first being there. In fine, having received all the honorable enterテインment in GRÆCE that could be: he returned unto ROME, where at his arrivall he found great factions kindled, the which men saw plainly would grow in the ende to civill warre. Thereuppon the Senate having decreed that he should enter in triumphe into the citie: he aunswered, that he would rather (all parties agreed) follow *Cæsars* coche in triumphe. So he travelled verie earnestly betwene *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, eftsoones wryting unto *Cæsar*, and also speaking unto *Pompey* that was present, seeking all the meanes he coulede, to take up the quarrell and misliking betwext them two. But it was so impossible a matter, that there was no speeche of agreement woulde take place. So *Pompey* hearing that *Cæsar* was not farre from ROME, he durst no lenger abide in ROME, but fled with divers of the greatest men in ROME. *Cicero* would not follow him when he fled, and therefore men thought he would take parte with *Cæsar*: but this is certaine, that he was in a marvelous perplexitie, and could not easely determine what way to take. Whereuppon he wrote in his Epistells: what way should I take? *Pompey* hath the juster and honeste cause of warre, but *Cæsar* can better execute, and provide for him selfe and his frendes with better safetie: so that I have meanes enow to flie, but none to whome I might repaire. In all this sturre, there was one of *Cæsars* frendes called *Trebatius*, which wrote a letter unto *Cicero*, and told him that *Cæsar* wished him in any case to come to him, and to

run with him the hope and fortune he undertooke: but if he excused him selfe by his age, that then he should get him into GRÆCE, and there to be quiet from them both. *Cicero* marveling that *Cæsar* wrote not to him him selfe, aunswered in anger, that he would doe nothing unworthie of his actes all the dayes of his life thitherto: and to this effect he wrote in his letters. Now *Cæsar* being gone into SPAYNE, *Cicero* imbarke'd immediatly to go to *Pompey*. So when he came unto him, every man was very glad of his comming, but *Cato*. Howbeit *Cato* secretly reproved him for comming unto *Pompey*, saying: that for him selfe he had bene without all honestie at that time to have forsaken that parte, the which he had alwayes taken and followed from the beginning of his first practise in the common wealth: but for him on thother side, that it had bene better for the safetie of his contrie, & chiefly for all his frendes, that he had bene a newter to both, & so to have taken thinges as they had fallen out: and that he had no maner of reason nor instant cause to make him to become *Cæsars* enemie, and by comming thither to put him selfe into so great perill. These perswasions of *Cato* overthrewe all *Ciceroes* purpose and determination, besides that *Pompey* him selfe did not employe him in any matter of service or importance. But hereof him selfe was more in fault then *Pompey*, bicause he confessed openly that he did repent him he was come thither. Furthermore, he scorned and disdained all *Pompeys* preparacions & counsells, the which in deede made him to be had in gealousie and suspicion. Also he would ever be fleering and gybing at those that tooke *Pompeys* parte, though he had no list him selfe to be merie. He would also goe up and downe the campe very sad and heavy, but yet he would ever have one geast or other to make men laugh, although they had as litle lust to be merie as he: and surely, it shall doe no hurte to call some of them to minde in this place.

*Cicero goeth
unto Pom-
pey.*

Domitius being verie desirous to preferre a gentleman to have charge of men, to recomende him, he sayd he was an honest, wise, and sober man. Whereto *Cicero* presently answered. Why doest thou not kepe him then to bring up thy children? An other time when they commended *Theophanes* LESBIAN, (that was maister of all the artificers of the campe) bicause he had notablie comforted the RHODIANS when they had received a greate losse of their navy: see, sayd *Cicero*, what a goodly thing it is to have a GRÆCIAN, master of artificers in the campe? When both battells came to joyne together, and that *Cæsar* had in manner all the advauntage, & kept them as good as besieged: *Lentulus* told him on a time, that he heard say all *Cæsars* frendes were madde, and melancholy men. Why, quod *Cicero* to him againe: doest thou say that they doe envie *Cæsar*? An other called *Martius*, comming lately out of ITALIE, sayd, that there ranne a rumor in ROME, that *Pompey* was besieged. What, quod *Cicero* to him againe: and diddest thou take shippe to come and see him thy selfe, bicause thou mightest beleve it, when thou haddest seene it? *Pompey* being overthrowen, one *Nonius* sayed there was yet good hope left, bicause they had taken seven Eagles within *Pompeys* campe. Thy perswasion were not ill, quod *Cicero*, so we were to fight but with pyes or dawes. *Labienus* reposed all his trust in certaine Oracles, that *Pompey* of necessitie must have the upper hand. Yea sayd *Cicero*, but for all this goodly stratageame of warre, we have not longe since lost our whole campe.

Cato gave place to Cicero, and offered him the charge of the navy at Dyrrachium.

After the battell of Pharsalia, where *Cicero* was not by reason of his sicknesse: *Pompey* being fled, and *Cato* at that time at DYRRACHIVM, where he had gathered a great number of men of warre, and had also prepared a great navie: he prayed *Cicero* to take charge of all this army, as it perteyned unto him, having bene Consul. *Cicero* did not only refuse it, but also tolde them he would

meddle no more with this warre. But this was enough to have made him bene slaine: for the younger *Pompey* and his frendes called him traitor, and drewe their swordes upon him to kill him, which they had done, had not *Cato* stepped betwene them and him, and yet had he muche a doe to save him, and to convey him safely out of the campe. When *Cicero* came to *BRVNDVSIVM*, he stayed there a certaine time for *Cæsars* comming, who came but slowly, by reason of his troubles he had in *ASIA*, as also in *ÆGYPT*. Howbeit newes being brought at length that *Cæsar* was arrived at *TARENTVM*, and that he came by lande unto *BRVNDVSIVM*: *Cicero* departed thence to goe meete him, not mistrusting that *Cæsar* would not pardon him, but rather being ashamed to come to his enemy being a conqueror, before such a number of men as he had about him. Yet he was not forced to doe or speake any thing unseemely to his calling. For *Cæsar* seeing him comming towards him farre before the rest that came with him: he lighted from his horse and imbraced him, and walked a great way a foote with him, still talking with him only, and ever after he did him great honor and made much of him. Insomuche as *Cicero* having written a booke in praise of *Cato*: *Cæsar* on the other side wrote an other, and praised the eloquence and life of *Cicero*, matching it with the life of *Pericles*, and *Theramenes*. *Ciceroes* booke was intituled *Cato*, and *Cæsars* booke called *Anticato*, as much to say, as against *Cato*. They say further, that *Quintus Ligarius* being accused to have bene in the field against *Cæsar*, *Cicero* tooke upon him to defend his cause: & that *Cæsar* sayd unto his frendes about him, what hurte is it for us to heare *Cicero* speake, whome we have not heard of long time? For otherwise *Ligarius* (in my opinion) standeth already a condemned man, for I know him to be a vile man, and mine enemy. But when *Cicero* had begonne his Oration, he moved *Cæsar* mar-

*The force of
Ciceroes elo-
quence, how it*

*altered Ca-
sar.*

*Ciceroes life
under Caesar.*

velously, he had so sweete a grace, and suche force in his words: that it is reported *Caesar* chaunged divers colours, and shewed plainly by his countenance, that there was a marvelous alteration in all the partes of him. For, in thend when the Orator came to touche the battell of Pharsalia, then was *Caesar* so troubled, that his bodie shooke withall, and besides, certaine bookes he had, fell out of his handes, and he was driven against his will to set *Ligarius* at libertie. Afterwardes, when the common wealth of ROME came to be a kingdom, *Cicero* leaving to practise any more in the state, he gave him selfe to reade Philosophie to the young men that came to heare him: by whose accesse unto him (bicause they were the chiefest of the nobilitie in ROME) he came againe to beare as great sway and authoritie in ROME, as ever he had done before. His studie and endeavour was, to wryte matters of Philosophie dialogue wise, and to translate out of Græke into Latin, taking paynes to bring all the Græke wordes, which are proper unto logicke and naturall causes, unto Latin. For he was the first man by report that gave Latin names unto these Græke words, which are proper unto Philosophers, as, Φαντασία, he termed, *Visio*. Κατάθεσις *Assensus*. Εποχή, *Assensus cohibutio*. Καταλήψις, *Comprehensio*. Τὸ ἄτομον *Corpus individuum*. Τὸ ἅμερες *Corpus simplex*. Τὸ κενὸν *Vacuum*, and many other suche like wordes. But though he were not the first, yet was it he that most did devise and use them, and turned some of them by translation, others into proper termes: so that at length they came to be well taken, knowen, and understood of everie man. And for his readinesse in wryting of verses, he would use them many times for his recreation: for it is reported, that whensoever he tooke in hand to make any, he would dispatch five hundred of them in a night. Nowe, all that time of his recreacion and pleasure, he woulde commonly be at some of his houses in the contrie, which he had

neere unto THVSCVLVM, from whence he would wryte unto his frends, that he led *Laertes* life: either spoken merily as his maner was, or else pricked forward with ambition, desiring to returne againe to be a practiser in the common wealth, being wearie with the present time and state thereof. Howsoever it was, he came oftentimes to ROME, onely to see *Cæsar* to keepe him his frend, and would ever be the first man to confirme any honors decreed unto him, and was alwayes studious to utter some newe matter to praise him and his doinges. As that was he sayd touching the statues of *Pompey*, the which being overthrowen, *Cæsar* commaunded them to be set up againe, and so they were. For *Cicero* sayd, that by that curtesie in setting up of *Pompeys* statues againe, he did establishe his owne. So, *Cicero* being determined to wryte all the ROMANE historie, and to mingle with them many of the GRÆCIANS doings, adding thereunto all the fables and devises which they doe write and reporte: he was hindered of his purpose against his will, by many open and private troubles that came upon him at once: whereof notwithstanding he him selfe was cause of the most of them. For first of all, he did put away his wife *Terentia*, *Cicero did put away his wife Terentia.* because she had made but small accompt of him in all the warres: so that he departed from ROME having no necessarie thing with him to enterteine him out of his contrie, and yet when he came backe againe into ITALIE, she never shewed any sparke of love or good will towards him. For she never came to BRVNDVSIVM to him, where he remeyned a long time: and worse then that, his daughter having the hart to take so long a jorney in hand to goe to him, she neither gave her company to conduct her, nor money or other furniture convenient for her, but so handled the matter, that *Cicero* at his returne to ROME founde bare walles in his house and nothing in it, and yet greatly brought in det besides. And these were the honestest

Cicero married a young maiden.

causes alleaged for their divorce. But besides that *Terentia* denied all these, *Cicero* him selfe gave her a good occasion to cleere her selfe, bicause he shortly after married a young maiden, being fallen in fancie with her (as *Terentia* sayd) for her beawtie: or, as *Tyro* his servaunt wrote, for her riches, to thende that with her goods he might pay his detts. For she was very rich, and *Cicero* also was appointed her gardian, she being left sole heire. Now, bicause he ought a marvelous summe of money, his parents and frends did counsell him to mary this young maiden, notwithstanding he was too olde for her, bicause that with her goodes he might satisfie his creditors. But *Antonius* speaking of this mariage of *Cicero*, in his aunswers and Orations he made against the *PHILIPPIANS*: he doth reprove him for that he put away his wife, with whome he was grown olde, being merie with him by the way for that he had bene an idle man, and never went from the smoke of his chimney, nor had bene abroad in the warres in any service of his contrie or common wealth. Shortly after that he had married his second wife, his daughter dyed in labor of child, in *Lentulus* house, whose seconde wife she was, being before married unto *Piso*, who was her first husband. So the Philosophers and learned men came of all sides to comfort him: but he tooke her death so sorowfully, that he put away his second wife, bicause he thought she did rejoyce at the death of his daughter. And thus much touching the state and troubles of his house. Nowe touching the conspiracie against *Cæsar*, he was not made privie to it, although he was one of *Brutus* greatest frendes, and that it grieved him to see thinges in that state they were brought unto, and albeit also he wished for the time past, as much as any other man did. But in deede the conspirators were affrayed of his nature, that lacked hardnesse: and of his age, the which oftentimes maketh the

Cicero not made privy to the conspiracie against Cæsar.

stowtest and most hardiest natures, faint harted & cowardly. Notwithstanding, the conspiracie being executed by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Cæsars* frendes beinge gathered together, everie man was affrayed that the citie woulde againe fall into civill warres. And *Antonius* also, who was Consul at that time, did assemble the Senate, and made some speache and mocion then to draw things againe unto quietnes. But *Cicero* having used divers perswasions fit for the time, in the end he moved the Senate to decree (following the example of the *ATHENIANS*) a generall oblivion of thinges done against *Cæsar*, and to assigne unto *Brutus* and *Cassius* some governmentes of provinces. Howbeit nothing was concluded for the people of them selves were sorie, when they sawe *Cæsars* bodie brought through the market place. And when *Antonius* also did shew them his gowne all bebloodied, cut, and thrust through with swordes: then they were like madde men for anger, and sought up and downe the market place if they coulde meete with any of them that had slaine him: and taking fire brandes in their handes, they ranne to their houses to set them a fire. But the conspirators having prevented this daunger, saved them selves: and fearing that if they taried at *ROME*, they should have many such alaroms, they forsooke the citie. Then *Antonius* began to looke aloft, and became fearefull to all men, as though he ment to make him selfe king: but yet most of all unto *Cicero*, above all others. For *Antonius* Private
perceiving that *Cicero* began againe to increase in credit grudge be-
& authoritie, & knowing that he was *Brutus* very frend: twext *Antonius* and
he did mislike to see him come neere him, and besides, *Cicero*.
there was at that time some gealousie betwext them, for the diversitie and difference of their manners and dispositions. *Cicero* being affrayed of this, was first of all in minde to go with *Dolabella*, to his province of *SYRIA*, as one of his Lieutenants. But they that were appointed to

*Cicero sail-
eth into
Greece.*

be Consuls the next yeare following after *Antonius*, two noble citizens, and *Ciceroes* great frends, *Hircius*, and *Pansa*: they intreated him not to forsake them, undertaking that they would plucke downe this overgreat power of *Antonius*, so he would remaine with them. But *Cicero*, neither beleving nor altogether mistrusting them, forsooke *Dolabella*, and promised *Hircius* and *Pansa*, that he would spend the sommer at *ATHENS*, and that he would returne againe to *ROME* so soone as they were entred into their Consulship. With this determination *Cicero* tooke sea alone, to goe into *GRÆCE*. But as it chaunceth oftentimes, there was some let that kept him he could not saile, and newes came to him daily from *ROME*, as the manner is, that *Antonius* was wonderfully chaunged, and that now he did nothing any more without the authoritie and consent of the Senate, and that there lacked no thing but his person, to make all things well. Then *Cicero* condemning his dastardly feare, returned foorthwith to *ROME*, not being deceived in his first hope. For there came suche a number of people out to meete him, that he coulde doe nothing all day long, but take them by the handes, and imbrace them: who to honor him, came to meete him at the gate of the citie, as also by the way to bring him to his house. The next morning *Antonius* assembled the Senate, and called for *Cicero* by name. *Cicero* refused to goe, and kept his bedde, fayning that he was verie with his journey and paines he had taken the day before: but in deede, the cause why he went not, was, for feare and suspicion of an ambushe that was layed for him by the way, if he had gone, as he was informed by one of his verie good frends. *Antonius* was marvelously offended that they did wrongfully accuse him, for laying of any ambush for him: and therefore sent souldiers to his house, and commaunded them to bring him by force, or else to sette his house a fire.

After that time, *Cicero* and he were alwayes at jarre, but yet coldly enough, one of them taking heede of an other: untill that the young *Cæsar* returning from the citie of APOLLONIA, came as lawfull heire unto *Julius Cæsar* Dictator, and had contencion with *Antonius* for the summe of two thowsande five hundred Myriades, the which *Antonius* kept in his handes of his fathers goodes. Thereupon, *Philip* who had married the mother of this young *Cæsar*, and *Marcellus*, who had also married his sister, went with young *Cæsar* unto *Cicero*, and there agreed together, that *Cicero* should helpe young *Cæsar* with the favour of his authoritie, and eloquence, as well towards the Senate, as also to the people: and that *Cæsar* in recompence of his good will should stande by *Cicero*, with his money & souldiers. For this young *Cæsar*, had many of his fathers old souldiers about him, that had served under him. Now there was an other cause that made *Cicero* glad to imbrace the frendshippe of this young *Cæsar*, and that was this. Whilest *Pompey* and *Julius Cæsar* were alive, and in good case: *Cicero* dreamed one night that the Senators sonnes were called into the Capitoll, bicause *Jupiter* had appointed to shew them him, that one day should come to be Lord and king of ROME, & that the ROMANES being desirous to see who it should be, ranne all unto the temple: and that all the children likewise were waiting there in their goodly garded gownes of purple, untill that sodainly the dores of the temple were open, and then that al the children rose one after an other, and went and passed by the image of *Jupiter*, who looked upon them all, and sent them discontented, saving this young *Cæsar*, unto whome he put foorth his hand as he passed by, and sayd: My Lordes of ROME, this childe is he that shall end all your civill warres, when he commeth to be Lord of ROME. Some say, that *Cicero* had this vision in his dreame, and that he caried in good

*Ill will be-
twext Cicero
and Anto-
nius.*

*Cicero and
Octavius
Cæsar joyn-
ed in frend-
ship.*

*Ciceroes
dreame of
Octavius,
the adopted
sonne of
Julius
Cæsar.*

memory the looke of this child, howbeit that he knew him not: and that the next morning he went of purpose into the fielde of *Mars*, where these young boyes did exercise them selves, who, when he came thither, had broken up from playing, and were going home, and that amongest them he first saw him whom he had dreamed of, and knew him verie well, and musing at him the more, asked him whose sonne he was. The boy aunswered, that

Octavius, and Accia: the parents of Octavius Cæsar.

he was the sonne of one *Octavius*, (a man otherwise of no great calling) and of *Accia*, the sister of *Julius Cæsar*: who having no childe, made him his heire by his last will and testament, and left him all his landes and goodes. After that time, it is reported, that *Cicero* was verie glad to speake to him when he met with him, and that the boy also liked *Ciceroes* frendshippe, and making of him: for by good happe the boy was borne the same yeare that *Cicero* was Consul. And these be the reasons alleaged, why *Cicero* did favor this young *Cæsar*. But in truth, first of all the great malice he bare unto *Antonius*, and secondly his nature that was ambitious of honor, were (in my opinion) the chiefeſt causes why he became young *Cæsar*s frend: knowing that the force & power of his souldiers, would greatly strengthen his authority & countenance in manedging the affaires of the state, besides that the young man coulde flatter him so well, that he called him father. But *Brutus* being offended with him for it, in his Epistells he wrote unto *Atticus*, he sharply reproveth *Cicero*, saying, that for feare of *Antonius* he flattered this young *Cæsar*: whereby it appeared, he did not so much seeke for the libertie of *ROME*, as he did procure him selfe a loving and gentle maister. This notwithstanding, *Brutus* brought with him *Ciceroes* sonne that studied Philosophie at *ATHENS*, and gave him charge of men under him, and imployed him in great affaires, wherein he shewed him selfe verie forward, and valliant. Now *Cice-*

Octavius Cæsar was borne in the yere of Ciceroes Consulship.

roes authoritie and power grew againe to be so great in *ROME*, as ever it was before. For he did what he thought good, and so vexed *Antonius*, that he drave him out of the citie, and sent the two Consuls *Hircius* and *Pansa* against him, to fight with him: and caused the Senate also to decree, that young *Cæsar* should have sergeaunts to carie rodde and axes before him, and all other furniture for a Prætor, as a man that fighteth for his contry. After that *Antonius* had lost the battell, and that both the Consuls were slaine, both the armies came unto *Cæsar*. The Senate then being affraied of this young man, that had so great good fortune, they practised by honors and gifts to call the armies from him, which he had about him, and so to minish the greatnes of his power: saying, that their contrie now stooode in no neede of force, nor feare of defence, sith her enimie *Antonius* was fled and gone. *Cæsar* fearing this, sent men secretly unto *Cicero*, to pray him to procure that they two together might be chosen Consuls, and that when they should be in office, he should doe and appoint what he thought good, having the young man at his commaundement, who desired no more but the honor only of the name. *Cæsar* him selfe confessed afterwarde, that being affrayed he should have bene utterly cast away, to have bene left alone: he finely served his turne by *Ciceroes* ambition, having perswaded him to require the Consulship, through the helpe and assistance that he would geve him. But there was finely colted, as old as he was, by a young man, when he was contented to sue for the Consulship in his behalfe, and to make the Senate agreable to it: wherefore his frendes presently reproved him for it, & shortly after he perceived he had undone him selfe, and together also lost the libertie of his contrie. For this young man *Octavius Cæsar* being growen to be verie great by his meanes and procurement: when he saw that he had the Consul-

Ciceroes
great power
at Rome.

Octavius
Cæsar sueth
to be Consul.

*Octavius
Casar for-
saketh Ci-
cero.*

*Note the
fickelnes of
youth.*

*The meeting
of the Trium-
viri: Antoni-
us, Lepidus,
Octavius
Casar.*

*Cicero ap-
pointed to be
slaine.*

shippe upon him, he forsooke *Cicero*, and agreed with *Antonius* & *Lepidus*. Then joyning his armie with theirs, he devided the Empire of *ROME* with them, as if it had bene lands left in common betwene them: and besides that, there was a bill made of two hundred men and upwards, whom they had appointed to be slaine. But the greatest difficultie and difference that fell out betwene them, was about the outlawing of *Cicero*. For *Antonius* would hearken to no peace betwene them, unlesse *Cicero* were slaine first of all: *Lepidus* was also in the same mind with *Antonius*: but *Casar* was against them both. Their meeting was by the citie of *BOLONIA*, where they continued three dayes together, they three only secretly consulting in a place environned about with a litle river. Some say that *Casar* stuck hard with *Cicero* the two first dayes, but at the third, that he yeelded and forsooke him. The exchange they agreed upon betwene them, was this. *Casar* forsooke *Cicero*: *Lepidus*, his owne brother *Paulus*: & *Antonius*, *Lucius Casar*, his uncle by the mothers side. Such place tooke wrath in them, as they regarded no kinred nor blood, and to speake more properly, they shewed that no brute or savage beast is so cruell as man, if with his licentiousnes he have liberty to execute his will. While these matters were a brewing, *Cicero* was at a house of his in the contrie, by the city of *THVSCVLVM*, having at home with him also his brother *Quintus Cicero*. Newes being brought them thither of these proscriptions or outlawries, appointing men to be slaine: they determined to goe to *ASTYRA*, a place by the sea side where *Cicero* had an other house, there to take sea, and from thence to goe into *MACEDON* unto *Brutus*. For there ran a rumor that *Brutus* was verie strong, and had a great power. So, they caused them selves to be conveyed thither in two litters, both of them being so weake with sorow and grieve, that they could not otherwise have

gone their wayes. As they were on their waye, both their litters going as neere to ech other as they could, they bewailed their miserable estate: but *Quintus* chiefly, who tooke it most grievously. For, remembring that he tooke no money with him when he came from his house, and that *Cicero* his brother also had verie litle for him selfe: he thought it best that *Cicero* shoulde holde on his journey, whilest he him selfe made an arrant home to fetch such things as he lacked, and so to make hast againe to overtake his brother. They both thought it best so, and then tenderly imbracing one an other, the teares falling from their eyes, they tooke leave of ech other. Within few dayes after, *Quintus Cicero* being betrayed by his owne servaunts, unto them that made search for him: he was cruelly slaine, and his sonne with him. *Quintus Cicero slaine.* But *Marcus Tullius Cicero* being caried unto *ASTYRA*, and there finding a shippe readie, imbarcked immediatly, and sayled alongest the coast unto mount *Circe*, having a good gale of winde. There the mariners determining forthwith to make sayle againe, he came a shore, either for feare of the sea, or for that he had some hope that *Cæsar* had not altogether forsaken him: and therewithall returning towardes *ROME* by lande, he had gone about a hundred furlong thence. But then being at a straight howe to resolve, and sodainly chaunging his minde: he woulde needes be caried backe againe to the sea, where he continued all night marvelous sorowfull, and full of thoughts. For one while he was in minde to goe secretly unto *Octavius Cæsars* house, and to kill him selfe by the hearth of his chimney, to make the furies of hell to revenge his blood: but being affraied to be intercepted by the way, and cruelly handled, he turned from that determination. Then falling into other unadvised determinations, being perplexed as he was, he put him selfe againe into his servauntes handes, to be conveyed by sea to an

**Some doe
read Caiete.*

*A wonderful
matter fore-
sbewed by
crowes unto
Cicero.*

*Herennius,
& Popilius,
sent to kill
M. T. Ci-
cero.*

other place called *CAPITES. There he had a very proper pleasaunt sommer house, where the North winds, called Etesiaë, doe geve a trimme fresh ayer in the sommer season. In that place also there is a litle temple dedicated unto *Apollo*, not farre from the sea side. From thence there came a great shole of crowes, making a marvelous noyse, that came flying towardes *Ciceroes* shippe, which rowed upon the shore side. This shole of crowes came & lighted upon the yard of their saile, some crying, and some pecking the cords with their bills: so that every man judged straight, that this was a signe of ill lucke at hand. *Cicero* notwithstanding this, came a shore, and went into his house, & layed him downe to see if he coulde sleepe. But the most parte of these crowes came and lighted upon the chamber windowe where he lay, making a wonderfull great noyse: and some of them got unto *Ciceroes* bedde where he lay, the clothes being cast over his head, and they never left him, till by litle and litle they had with their bills pluckt of the clothes that covered his face. His men seeing that, and saying to them selves that they were too vile beasts, if they would tarie to see their maister slaine before their eyes, considering that brute beasts had care to save his life, seeing him so unworthily intreated, and that they should not doe the best they coulde to save his life: partely by intreatie, and partely by force, they put him againe into his litter to carie him to the sea. But in the meane time came the murderers appointed to kill him, *Herennius* a Centurion, and *Popilius Læna*, Tribune of the souldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thowsande men, whose cause *Cicero* had once pleaded before the Judges, when he was accused for the murther of his owne father) having souldiers attending upon them. So *Ciceroes* gate being shut, they entred the house by force, and missing him, they asked them of the house what was become of him. They aunswered, they could not tell. Howbeit there

was a young boy in the house called *Philologus*, a slave enfranchised by *Quintus Cicero*, whom *Tullius Cicero* had brought up in the Latin tongue, and had taught him the liberall sciences: he told this *Herennius*, that his servauntes caried him in a litter towards the sea, through darke narrowe lanes, shadowed with wodde on either side. *Popilius* the Colonell taking some souldiers with him, ranne about on the outside of the lanes to take him at his coming out of them: and *Herennius* on thother side entred the lanes. *Cicero* hearing him comming, commaunded his men to set downe his litter, and taking his beard in his left hande, as his manner was, he stowtly looked the murderers in the faces, his heade and beard being all white, and his face leane and wrinckled, for the extreame sorowes he had taken: divers of them that were by, helde their handes before their eyes, whilest *Herennius* did cruelly murder him. So *Cicero* being three score and foure yeares of age, thrust his necke out of the litter, and had his head cut of by *Antonius* commaundement, and his hands also, which wrote the Orations (called the Philippians) against him. For so did *Cicero* call the Orations he wrote against him, for the malice he bare him: and do yet continue the same name untill this present time. When these pooredismembred members were brought to ROME, *Antonius* by chaunce was busily occupied at that time about the election of certaine officers: who when he heard of them and saw them, he cried out alowde that now all his outlawries and proscriptions were executed: & thereupon commaunded his head & his hands should straight be set up over the pulpit for Orations, in the place called Rostra. This was a fearefull and horrible sight unto the ROMANES, who thought they saw not *Ciceroes* face, but an image of *Antonius* life and disposicion: who among so many wicked deedes as he committed, yet he did one act only that had some shew of goodnes, which was this. He

*M.T. Cicero
slaine by
Herennius.*

*Ciceroes head
and hands set
up over the
pulpit of Or-
ations.*

*A straunge
and cruell
punishment
taken by
Pomponia
(Quintus Ci-
ceroes wife)
of Philologus
for betraying
of his maister.*

*Augustus
Casars testi-
mony of
Cicero.
Ciceroes
sonne, Con-
sul with
Augustus
Casar.
The decree
of the Senate
against An-
tonius being
dead.*

delivered *Philologus* into the handes of *Pomponia*, the wife of *Quintus Cicero*: and when she had him, besides other cruell tormentes she made him abide, she compelled him to cut his owne flesh of by litle morsells, and to broyle them, and then to eate them. Some historiographers doe thus reporte it. But *Tyro* who was a slave infranchised by *Cicero*, made no mencion of the treason of this *Philologus*. Howbeit I understoode that *Casars Augustus*, long time after that, went one day to see one of his Nephewes, who had a booke in his hande of *Ciceroes*: and he fearing least his Uncle would be angrie to finde that booke in his handes, thought to hide it under his gowne. *Casars* saw it, and tooke it from him, and red the most parte of it standing, and then delivered it to the young boy, and sayd unto him: he was a wise man in deede, my childe, and loved his contrie well. After he had slaine *Antonius*, being Consul: he made *Ciceroes* sonne his colleague and fellow Consul with him, in whose time the Senate ordeyned, that the images of *Antonius* should be throwen downe, and deprived his memory of all other honors: adding further unto his decree, that from thence forth none of the house and familie of the *Antonij* should ever after beare the christen name of *Marcus*. So, Gods justice made the extreame revenge and punishment of *Antonius*, to fal into the house of *Cicero*.

THE COMPARISON OF CICERO WITH DEMOSTHENES.

THIS is as much as we could gather by our knowledge touching the notable actes & deedes worthie of memorie, wrytten of *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*. Furthermore, leaving the comparison a side of the difference of their eloquence in their Orations: me thinkes I may say thus muche of them. That *Demosthenes* did whollie imploy all his wit and learning (naturall or artificiall) unto the arte of Rethoricke, and that in force, and vertue of eloquence, he did excell all the Orators in his time: and for gravetie and magnificent style, all those also that only wryte for shewe or ostentacion: and for sharpnesse and arte, all the Sophisters and Maisters of Rethoricke. And that *Cicero* was a man generallie learned in all sciences, and that had studied divers bookes, as appeareth plainly by the sundrie bookes of Philosophie of his owne making, witten after the manner of the Academicke Philosophers. Furthermore, they may see in his Orations he wrote in certeine causes to serve him when he pleaded: that he sought occasions in his by-talke to shewe men that he was excellently well learned. Furthermore, by their phrases a man may discerne some sparke of their manners and condicions. For *Demosthenes* phrase hath no maner of finenesse, geastes, nor grace in it, but is altogether grave and harshe, and smelleth not of the lampe, as *Pytheas* sayd when he mocked him: but sheweth a great drinker of water, extreame paines, and therewith also a sharpe and sower nature. But *Cicero* oftentimes fell from pleasaunt tawntes, unto plaine scurrilitie: and turning all his pleadings of matters of importaunce, to sporte and laughter, having a grace in it, many times he did forget the comlynnesse that became a man of his calling. As in his Oration for *Calius*, where

Demosthenes
eloquence.

Ciceroes rare
and divers
doctrines.

Demosthenes
and *Ciceroes*
maners.

he sayeth, it is no marvell if in so greate aboundance of wealth and finenesse he give him selfe a litle to take his pleasure: and that it was a folly not to use pleasures lawefull, and tollerable, sith the famousest Philosophers that ever were, did place the chiefe felicitie of man, to be in pleasure. And it is reported also, that *Marcus Cato* having accused *Murana*, *Cicero* being Consul, defended his cause, & in his Oration pleasauntly girded all the sect of the Stoicke Philosophers for *Catoes* sake, for the straunge opinions they holde, which they call Paradoxes: insomuch as he made all the people and Judges also fall a laughing a good. And *Cato* him selfe also smiling a litle, sayd unto them that sate by him: what a laughing and mocking Consul have we, my Lordes? but letting that passe, it seemeth that *Cicero* was of a pleasaunt and merie nature: for his face shewed ever greate life and mirth in it. Whereas in *Demosthenes* countenaunce on thother side, they might discern a marvelous diligence and care, and a pensive man, never weary with paine: insomuch that his enemies, (as he reporteth him selfe) called him a perverse and froward man. Furthermore, in their writings is discerned, that the one speaketh modestly in his owne praise, so as no man can justly be offended with him: and yet not alwayes, but when necessitie enforceth him for some matter of great importaunce, but otherwise verie discreete and modest to speake of him selfe. *Cicero* in contarie maner, using too often repeticion of one selfe thing in all his Orations, shewed an extreame ambition of glorie, when incessantly he cried out:

Demosthenes
modest in
praising of
him selfe:
Cicero too
full of ostentation.

*Let speare and shield geve place to gowne,
And geve the tung the laurell Crowne.*

Yea furthermore, he did not onely praise his owne actes and deedes, but the Orations also which he had wrytten or pleaded: as if he shoulde have contended a-

gainst *Isocrates*, or *Anaximenes*, a maister that taught Rethoricke, and not to goe about to reforme the people of ROME:

*Which were both fierce and stowt in armes,
And fit to worke their enemies harmes.*

For, as it is requisite for a Governour of a common wealth to seeke authoritie by his eloquence: so, to covet the praise of his owne glorious tongue, or as it were to begge it, that sheweth a base minde. And therefore in this poynt we must confesse that *Demosthenes* is farre graver, and of a nobler minde: who declared him selfe, that all his eloquence came onely but by practise, the which also required the favor of his auditorie: and further, he thought them fooles and madde men (as in deede they be no lesse) that therefore woulde make any boast of them selves. In this they were both alike, that both of them had great credit & authoritie in their Orations to the people, & for obtayning that they would propound: Insomuche as Captaines, & they that had armies in their handes, stooode in neede of their eloquence. As *Chares*, *Diopithes*, and *Leosthenes*, they all were holpen of *Demosthenes*: and *Pompey*, and *Octavius Cæsar* the young man, of *Cicero*: as *Cæsar* him selfe confesseth in his Commentaries he wrote unto *Agrippa*, and *Mæcenæ*s. But nothing sheweth a mans nature and condicion more, (as it is reported, and so is it true) then when one is in authoritie: for that bewrayeth his humor, and the affections of his minde, and layeth open also all his secret vices in him. *Demosthenes* coulde never deliver any suche prooffe of him selfe, bicause he never bare any office, nor was called forward. For he was not Generall of the armie, which he him selfe had prepared against king *Philippe*. *Cicero* on thother side being sent Treasurer into SICILE, and Proconsul into CILICIA and CAPPADOCIA, in such a time

Demosthenes and Ciceroes cunning in their Orations in the common wealth.

Authoritie sheweth mens vertues and vices.

Ciceroes abstinence from money.

*Demoſthenes
a money
taker.*

as covetousnes raigned moſt: (inſomuch that the Capitaines and Governors whom they ſent to governe their provinces, thinking it villanie and daſtardlineſſe to robbe, did violently take thinges by force, at what time alſo to take bribes was reckoned no ſhame, but to handle it diſcreetly, he was the better thought of, and beloved for it) he ſhewed plainely that he regarded not money, and gave foorth many proofes of his curteſie and goodnes. Furthermore, *Cicero* being created Conſul by name, but Dictator in deede, having absolute power and authoritie over all thinges to ſuppreſſe the rebellion and conſpirators of *Catiline*: he proved *Platoes* prophecie true, which was: That the cities are ſafe from daunger, when the chiefe Magiſtrates and Governors (by ſome good divine fortune) doe governe with wiſedom and juſtice. *Demoſthenes* was reprov'd for his corruption, and ſelling of his eloquence: becauſe ſecretly he wrote one Oration for *Phormio*, and an other in the ſelfe ſame matter for *Apollodorus*, they being both adversaries. Further, he was defamed alſo for receiving money of the king of PERSIA, & therewithall condemned for the money which he had taken of *Harpalus*. And though ſome peradventure woulde object, that the reporters thereof (which are many) doe lye: yet they can not poſſibly deny this, that *Demoſthenes* had no power to refrain from looking of the preſentes which divers kinges did offer him, praying him to accept them in good parte for their ſakes: neither was that the part of a man that did take uſurie by trafficke on the ſea, the extreameſt yet of all other. In contrarie maner (as we have ſayd before) it is certeine that *Cicero* being Treasorer, refus'd the gifts which the SICILIANS offered him, there: and the preſentes alſo which the king of the CAPPADOCIANS offred him whileſt he was Proconſul in CILICIA, & thoſe eſpecially which his friendes preſſed upon him to take of them, being a great ſumme

of money, when he went as a banished man out of ROME. Furthermore, the banishment of the one was infamous to him, because by judgement he was banished as a theefe. The banishment of the other was for as honorable an acte as ever he did, being banished for ridding his contrie of wicked men. And therefore of *Demoſthenes*, there was no ſpeeche after he was gone: but for *Cicero*, all the Senate chaunged their apparell into blacke, and determined that they would paſſe no decree by their authoritie, before *Ciceroes* banishment was revoked by the people. In deede *Cicero* idly passed his time of banishment, and did nothing all the while he was in MACEDON: and one of the chiefest acts that *Demoſthenes* did, in all the time that he delt in the affaires of the common wealth, was in his banishment. For he went unto every city, and did aſſiſt the Ambassadors of the GRÆCIANS, and refused the Ambassadors of the MACEDONIANS. In the which he shewed him selfe a better citizen, then either *Themistocles*, or *Alcibiades*, in their like fortune and exile. So when he was called home, and returned, he fell againe to his old trade which he practised before, and was ever against *Antipater*, and the MACEDONIANS. Where *Lalius* in open Senate sharply tooke up *Cicero*, for that he sate still and sayd nothing, when that *Octavius Caesar* the young man made petition against the law, that he might sue for the Consulshippe, and being so young, that he had never a heare on his face. And *Brutus* selfe also doth greatly reprove *Cicero* in his letters, for that he had maintained and nourished, a more grievous and greater tyrannie, then that which they had put downe. And last of all, me thinketh the death of *Cicero* most pitiefull, to see an olde man caried up and downe, (with tender love of his servauntes) seeking all the waies that might be to flie death, which did not long prevent his naturall course: and in the ende, olde as he was, to see his head so pitie-

*Divers
causes of the
banishment
of Demo-
sthenes and
Cicero.*

*The differ-
ence betwext
Demoſthenes
and Ciceroes
death.*

fully cut of. Whereas *Demosthenes*, though he yeelded a litle, intreating him that came to take him: yet for that he had prepared the poyson long before, that he had kept it long, and also used it as he did, he can not but be marvelously commended for it. For sith the god *Neptune* denied him the benefit of his sanctuarie, he betooke him to a greater, and that was death: whereby he saved him selfe out of the souldiers handes of the tyran, and also scorned the bloody crueltie of *Antipater*.

The end of the life of Cicero.



THE LIFE OF Demetrius

WH^O first likened arts to our senses, semeth to *How senses*
have respected especially that one property of *and artes doe*
them both, in receiving objects of contrary qual- *agree and dif-*
ity: for, in the use & end of their operacion, there is great *fer.*
difference. The senses receive indifferently, without dis-
cretion and judgement, white and blacke, sweete and
sower, soft and hard: for their office is only to admit their
severall objects, and to carie and referre the judgement
thereof to the common sence. But artes being the per-
fection of reason, receive and allow those things onely
which make for their operacion, regarding & eschuing
the contraries. Thone chiefly, and for use: thother by the
way, and with intent to avoyde them. So Phisicke deal-
eth with diseases, Musicke with discordes, to thend to

*The maner
of the Spart-
ans to make
their slaves
dronke.*

*The cause of
describing
the lives of
the wicked.*

*Plato: of
vertue and
vice.*

remove them, and worke their contraries. And the great Ladies of all other artes, temperaunce, iustice, and wisdom, doe not only consider honestie, uprightnes, and profit: but examine withall, the nature and effectes of lewdnes, corruption, & damage. And innocencie, which vaunteth her want of experience in undue practises: men call simplicitie, and ignoraunce of thinges, that be necessarie & good to be knowen. And therefore the auncient LACEDÆMONIANS in their solemne feastes forced their ILOTES the bondmen, to overcharge them selves with wine: and suche they shewed them unto their youth, by the apparant beastlines of dronken men, to worke in them an abhorring of so lothesome vice. Wherein, although I can not much praise them for humanity or wisdom, that corrupt and spoile one man, by example of him, to correct and reclaime an other: yet (as I hope) it shall not be reprehended in me, if amongst the rest I put in one or two paier of suche, as living in great place and accompt, have increased their fame with infamy. Which in truth, I doe not, to please and draw on the reader with variety of report: but as *Ismenias* the THEBAN Musitian shewed hisschollers, both those that strake a cleane stroke, with, do so, and such as bungled it, with, do not so: and *Antigenidas* thought men should like better, and with greater desire contend for skill, if they heard and discerned untunable notes: so thinke I, we shall be the forwarder in reading and following the good, if we know the lives, & see the deformity of the wicked. This treaty containeth the lives of *Demetrius*, surnamed the Fortgainer, and *M. Antony* the Triumvir, and great examples to confirme the saying of *Plato*: That from great minds, both great vertues and great vices do procede. They were both given over to women and wine, both valliant and liberal, both sumptuous and high minded, fortune served them both alike, not only in the course of their

lives, in attempting great matters, sometimes with good,
 sometimes with ill successe, in getting and losing things
 of great consequence, overthrowing both when they fear-
 ed not, restoring both when they hoped not. But also in
 their ende there was no great difference, thone brought
 to his death by his mortal enemies, and the others for-
 tune not much unlike. But now to our historie. *Antigo-* *Demetrius*
nus had two sonnes by his wife *Stratonice*, the daughter *parentage.*
 of *Corraus*, the one of them he named *Demetrius*, and the
 other *Philip*, after his fathers name. Thus farre the most
 wryters doe agree: howbeit some holde opinion, that
Demetrius was not the sonne of *Antigonus*, but his Neph-
 ewe. But bicause his father dyed leaving him a childe,
 and that his mother was straight married againe unto *An-*
tigonus: thereuppon came the reporte that he was *Antigo-*
nus sonne. Howsoever it was, *Philip*, that was not much *The death of*
 younger then *Demetrius*, dyed. Now for *Demetrius*, though *Philip the*
 he was a verie bigge man, he was nothing so high as his *younger bro-*
 father, but yet so passing and wonderfull fayer, that no *ther of Deme-*
 painter could possibly draw his picture and counterfeat *trius.*
 to his likenes. For they saw a sweete countenance, mixed *Demetrius*
 with a kinde of gravetie in his face, a feare with curtesie, *beawtie.*
 & an incomparable Princely majestie accompanied with
 a lively spirit and youth, and his wit and manners were
 such, that they were both fearefull, and pleasaunt unto
 men that frequented him, For as he was most pleasaunt *Demetrius*
 in company having leasure, and most geven to banket- *maners.*
 ing, pleasaunt life, and more wantonly geven to follow
 any lust and pleasure, than any king that ever was: yet
 was he alwayes very carefull and diligent in dispatching
 matters of importance. And therefore he marvelously
 commended, and also endeavoured to follow *Dionysius*,
 (as much to say, as *Bacchus*) above all the other goddes,
 as he that had bene a wise and valliant Captaine in warre,
 and that in peace invented and used all the pleasure that

*Demetrius
love to his
father.*

*A king can
abide no
equall.*

*The sport of
the East
kings, was to
kill their
owne child-
ren, wives,
and mothers.*

might be. He marvelously loved & revered his father, and it seemeth that the dutiefulnes he shewed unto his mother, was more to discharge the due obedience and dutie of a sonne, than otherwise to enterteine his father, for feare of his power, or hope to be his heire. And for prooffe hereof we read, that one day as he came home from hunting, he went unto his father *Antigonus*, geving audience to certaine Ambassadors, and after he had done his duetie to him, and kissed him: he sate downe by him even as he came from hunting, having his dartes in his hande, which he caried out a hunting with him. Then *Antigonus* calling the Ambassadors alowde as they went their way, having received their aunswere: my Lords, sayd he, you shall carie home this reporte of my sonne and me, be witnesses I pray you, how we live one with an other. As meaning to shewe thereby, that the agreement betwext the father & the sonne together, is a great safetie to the affaires of a king, as also a manifest prooffe of his greatnes: so gealous is a king to have a companion, besides the hate and mistrust it should breede. So that the greatest Prince and most auncientest of all the successors of *Alexander*, boasted that he stooode not in feare of his sonne, but did suffer him to sitte by him, having a dart in his hand. So was this house onely of all other the MACEDONIAN kinges, least defiled with suche villanie, many successions after: and to confesse a troth, in all *Antigonus* rase there was not one, but *Philip* onely, that slue his owne sonne. But we have many examples of divers other houses of kinges, that have put their sonnes, wives and mothers to death: and for their brethren, it was an ordinarie thing with them to kill them, and never sticke at it. For like as Geometricians would have men graunt them certaine proposicions which they suppose without prooffe: even so was this holden for a generall rule, to kill their brethren, for the safetie of their estate. But fur-

ther, to shewe you more plainly that *Demetrius* was of a noble and curteous nature, and that he dearely loved his frendes: we may alleage this example. *Mithridates*, the sonne of *Ariobarxanes*, was his familiar frend and companion (for they were both in maner of an age) and he commonly followed *Antigonus* courte, and never practised any villanie or treason to him, neither was he thought such a man: yet *Antigonus* did somewhat suspect him, because of a dreame he had. He thought that being in a goodly great field, he sowed of these scrapinges of gold, and that of that seede, first of all came up goodly wheate which had eares of gold: howbeit that shortly after returning that way againe, he found nothing but the straw, and the eares of the wheate cut of, and that he being angrie and verie sorie for it, some tolde him that *Mithridates* had cut of these golden eares of wheate, & had caried them with him into the realme of PONT. *Antigonus* being marvelously troubled with this dreame, after he had made his sonne sweare unto him that he would make no man alive privy to that he would tell him: he told him all his dreame what he had dreamed, and therewith that he was determined to put this young man *Mithridates* to death. *Demetrius* was marvelous sory for it, and therefore the next morning, this young noble Prince going as he was wont to passe the time away with *Mithridates*, he durst not by word of mouth utter that he knew, because of his othe: howbeit, taking him aside from his other familliers, when they were both together by them selves, he wrote on the ground with the end of his dart, *Mithridates* looking on him: flie *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* found straight what he ment, and fled the very same night into CAPADOCIA: and shortly after it was his destinie to fulfill *Antigonus* dreame. For he conquered many goodly countries, and it was he onely that established the house of the kingdom of PONT, the which the ROMANES after

Demetrius
curtesie.

Antigonus
dreame.

Demetrius
saveth Mith-
ridates life.
Mithridates
king of Pont.

** Because he
sayd, that
love and dis-
cord were
ever the effici-
ent causes of
generation
and corrupt-
ion of all
thinges.*

*Enmitie be-
twixt An-
tigonus and
Ptolomy.*

*Demetrius,
generall to
Antigonus,
against
Ptolomy.*

*Demetrius
overtrowen
in battaile,
by Ptolomy.*

*The bounti-
fulnes of Pto-
lomy the
Conqueror,
unto Deme-
trius con-
quered.*

wardes overthrewe, about the eight succession. By these examples we may easily conjecture the good nature and curtesie of *Demetrius*. For like as the elements (according to *Empedocles* opinion) are ever at *strife together, but specially those that are nearest eache to other: even so, though all the successors of *Alexander* were at continuall warres together, yet was it soonest kindled, and most cruell betwene them which bordered nearest unto eche other, and that by being neare neighbours, had alwaies occasion of brawle together, as fell out at that time betwene *Antigonus* and *Ptolomy*. This *Antigonus* lay most commonly in the contry of PHRYGIA: who having intelligence that *Ptolomy* was gone into CYPRVS, and that he overranneall SYRIA, winning by force, or faier meanes, all the townes and cities subject unto them: he sent his sonne *Demetrius* thether, beeing at that time but two and twenty yeares of age, and it was the first time that ever he tooke charge as generall to his father, in matters of great importance. But he being a young man, and that had no skill of warres, fighting a battell with an olde souldier (trained up in the discipline of warres under *Alexander* the great, and that through him, and in his name, had fought many great battels) was soone overthrowen, and his armie put to flight, by the citie of GAZA. At which overthrow were slayne five thowsand men, and almost eight thowsand taken: and besides, *Demetrius* lost his tents and pavilions, his gold and silver, and to be short, all his whole cariage. But *Ptolomy* sent him all his thinges againe, and his friends also that were taken after the battell, with great curteous wordes: that he would not fight with them for all thinges together, but onely for honor, and Empire. *Demetrius* receiving them at his handes, besought the gods that he might not long live a debter unto *Ptolomy* for this great curtesie, but that he might quickly requite it with the like againe. Now *Demetrius* tooke not

this overthrow like a young man, though it was his first
 souldierfare: but like an olde and wise Captaine, that had
 abidden many overthrowes, he used great diligence to
 gather men againe, to make new armors, and to keepe
 the cities and contries in his hands under obedience, and
 did traine and exercise his souldiers in armes, whome he
 had gathered together. *Antigonus* having newes of the
 overthrowe of his sonne *Demetrius*, said no more, but that
Ptolomy had overcomen beardles men: and that after-
 wardes he should fight with bearded men. But now, bi-
 cause he would not discorage his sonne altogether, who
 craved leave once againe to fight a battell with *Ptolomy*:
 he graunted him. So, shortly after came *Cilles*, *Ptolomyes*
 generall, with a great puyasant armie, to drive him alto-
 gether out of SYRIA. For they made no great accompt of
Demetrius, bicause he had bene once overthrownen be-
 fore. Howbeit *Demetrius* stale apon him, gave him charge
 on the sodaine, and made him so affraid, that he tooke
 both the campe, and the generall, with seven thowsand
 prisoners besides, and wanne a marvelous treasure of
 money: which made him a glad man, not so much for the
 gaine he should have by it, as for the oportunitie he had
 thereby to come out of *Ptolomyes* det, nothing regarding
 the treasure nor the honor he had gotten by this victorie,
 but onely the benefit of his requitall of *Ptolomyes* curtesie
 towards him. But yet he did nothing of his owne head,
 before he had written to his father: and then receiuing
 full graunt and commission from him to dispose of all
 things as he thought good, he sent backe *Cilles* unto
Ptolomy, and al his other friends besides, with great and
 rich gifts which he bountifullly bestowed on them. This
 misfortune and overthrow did utterly put *Ptolomy* out of
 all SYRIA, and brought *Antigonus* also from the citie of
 CELÆNES, for the exceeding joy he had of this victorie,
 as also for the great desire he had to see his sonne. After

Demetrius
victorie of
Ptolomy.

Demetrius
thankefulnes
unto Ptol-
omy.

*Demetrius
invaded Ar-
abia.*

*Demetrius
invadeth
Mesopo-
tamia.*

*Antigonus
and Deme-
trius do goe
about to set
Grace at
libertie.*

that, he sent *Demetrius* into ARABIA, against a people called the NABATHÆIANS, to conquer them: but there he was in great daunger and distresse in the deserts for lacke of water, howbeit he never shewed any signe that he was affraid. Thereby he so astonied the barbarous people, that he had leysure enough to retyre with safetie, and with a great booty of a thowsand camells, which he brought away with him. About thattime *Seleucus*, (whome *Antigonus* had driven from BABYLON) returning thither againe, he came and conquered it without other ayde then of him selfe: and went with a great armie against the people and nations confining upon the INDIANS, and the provinces adjoyning unto mount Caucasus, to conquer them. Thereuppon *Demetrius* hoping to find MESOPOTAMIA without any gard or defence, sodainly passed over the river of Euphrates, & came unlooked for unto BABYLON, and there distressed the garrison of *Seleucus*, that kept one of the castells or citadells of the citie, being two of them: and then putting in seven thowsand souldiers to keepe them, he commaunded the rest of his men to get what they could, and to bringe it away with them. After that, he marched towards the sea to returne home, leaving thereby the Realme and kingdom of *Seleucus* in better state and safetie, then it was when he invaded it. For it appeared that he had taken all the contry from *Seleucus*, leaving him nothing in it, by spoiling and forraging all that was there. At his returne home, newes were brought him that *Ptolomy* lay at the seege of the citie of HALY-CARNASSVS: whereuppon he drew thither with speede to make him raise the seege, and thereby saved the city from him. Now, bicause by this exployte they wanne great fame, both of them, (*Antigonus* and *Demetrius*) fell into a marvelous desire to set all GRÆCE at libertie, the which *Ptolomy* and *Cassander* kept in servitude and bondage. Never king tooke in hande a more honorable nor

juster warre and enterprise, then that was. For, what power or riches he could gather together, in oppressing of the barbarous people: he bestowed it all in restoring the GRÆCIANS to their libertie, and onely to winne fame and honor by it. So, they being in consultacion what way to take, to bring their purpose and desire to passe, and having taken order to begin first at ATHENS: one of *Antigonus* chieftest friends about him, told him that he should take the citie, and place a good garrison there for them selves, if they could once winne it: for, said he, it will be a good bridge to passe further into all GRÆCE. *Antigonus* would not harken to that, but said, that the love & good will of men was a surer bridge, and that the citie of ATHENS was as a beacon to all the land, the which would immediatly make his doings shine through the world, as a cresset light, upon the toppe of a kepe or watche tower. Thus *Demetrius* hoysed sayle, having five thowsand silver talents, and a fleete of two hundred and fiftie sayle, and sailed towards the citie of ATHENS: in the which *Demetrius* PHALERIAN was governor in the behalfe of *Cassander*, and kept a great strong garrison there within the haven and castell of MYNICHEA. He had an excellent good winde to further his jorney, so that with his good foresight and speede he made, he arrived in the haven of PIRÆA, the five and twenty day of the moneth Thargelion, (now called Maye) before any man knew of his coming. Now when this fleete was within a kenning of the citie, and lesse, that they might easily see them from thence: every man prepared him selfe to receive them, taking them to be *Ptolomyes* shippes. But in fine, the Captaines and governors understanding too late who they were, did what they could to helpe them selves: but they were all in hurly burly, as men compelled to fight out of order, to keepe their enemies from landing, and to repulse them, comming so sodainly upon them. *Demetrius*

*Demetrius
Phalerian,
governor of
Athens for
Cassander.*

having found the barre of the haven open, launched in presently. Then being comen to the view of them all, and standing upon the hatches of his galley, he made signes with his hand that he prayed silence. The tumult being pacified, he proclaymed alowd by one of his Heraulds, that his father had sent him in happy hower to deliver the ATHENIANS from all their garrisons, & to restore them againe to their auncient libertie and freedom, to enjoye their lawes & auncient government of their forefathers. After the proclamacion made, all the common people straight threwe downe their weapons and targets at their feete, to clappe their handes with great showtes of joy: praying him to land, and calling him alowde their Savior, and benefactor. Now for them that were with *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, they all thought good to let the stronger in, although he performed not that he promised, and also sent Ambassadors unto him to treate of peace. *Demetrius* received them very curteously, and sent with them for pledge, one of the dearest friends his father had, *Aristodemus* MILESIAN. Furthermore, he was not careles of the health and safety of *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, who, by reason of the chaunge and alteracion of the government of the common wealth at ATHENS, stooode more in feare of the people of ATHENS, than of his enemies. Therefore *Demetrius* regarding the fame and vertue of the man, caused him to be conveyed (according to his desire) unto THEBES, with good and sufficient safe conduct. And for *Demetrius* him selfe, although he was very desirous to see the citie, he saide he would not come into it, before he had first restored it unto her auncient libertie and freedom, & also driven away the garrison thence: and there-uppon he cast trenches round about the castell of MVNYCHIA. In the meane season bicause he would not be idle, he hoysed sayle, and coasted towards the citie of MEGARA, within the which *Cassander* also kept a strong gar-

Demetrius
restoreth the
Athenians to
their liberties

Demetrius
Antigonus,
honoreth
Demetrius
Phalerius.

rison. *Demetrius* busily following these matters, was advertised that *Cratesipolis*, surnamed *Polyperchon*, (who had bene *Alexanders* wife) a Lady of passing fame & beauty, and lay at that time in the citie of *PATRAS*, would be glad to see him: he leaving his armie within the territorie of the *MEGARIANS*, tooke his journey presently unto her, with a few of his lightest armed men, and yet he staid from them, and made his tent to be set up a good way from them, because this Ladie might not be seene when she came unto him. Some of his enemies having present intelligence thereof, came and set upon him before he knew it. *Demetrius* was so scared, that he had no further leysure, but to cast an ill favored cloke about him, the first that came to hand, & disguising him selfe to flie for life, & scaped very hardly, that he was not shamefully taken of his enemies for his incontinencie. But though they missed him, they tooke his tent, and all his money in it. After that, the citie of *MEGARA* was taken and won from *Cassanders* men, where *Demetrius* souldiers would have sacked all: howbeit the *ATHENIANS* made humble intercession for them, that they might not be spoyled. *Demetrius* thereuppon, after he had driven out *Cassanders* garrison, he restored it againe to her former libertie. In doing that, he called to mind the Philosopher *Stilpo*, a famous man in *MEGARA*, though he lived a quiet and contemplative life. He sent for him, and asked him if any of his men had taken any thing of his. *Stilpo* aunswered him, they had not: For, quod he, I sawe no man that tooke my learning from me. This notwithstanding, all the slaves of the citie were in manner caried away. Another time, *Demetrius* making much of him, as he was going his way saide unto him: well, *Stilpo*, I leave you your citie free. It is true, O king, quod he, for thou hast left us never a slave. Shortly after, he returned againe unto *ATHENS*, and layde seege to the castell of *MVNICHIA*,

*Demetrius
daunger for
lecherie.*

*Demetrius
winneeth the
city of Meg-
ara, and re-
storeth it to
her libertie.*

*Stilpo, a
famous
Philosopher
in Megara.*

*Stilpoes say-
ings unto
Demetrius.*

*Demetrius
restoreth the
Athenians
to their lawes
and libertie.*

*Democratia:
populer gov-
ernment.*

*Oligarchia:
the gover-
ment of a
fewe.*

*Too much
honors de-
creed to
Demetrius
by the Athe-
nians.*

the which he tooke, & drave out the garrison, and afterwards rased it to the ground. After that, through the intreatie and earnest desire of the ATHENIANS, who prayed him to come and refresh him selfe in their citie: he made his entry into it, and caused all the people to assemble, & then restored unto them their auncient lawes and libertie of their contry, promising them besides, that he would procure his father to sende them a hundred and fiftie thowsand bushells of wheate, and as much woode and tymber as should serve to make them a hundred and fiftie gallies. Thus, the ATHENIANS through *Demetrius* meanes, recovered the Democratia again, (to wit, their populer government) fifteene yeares after they had lost it, and lived all the time betwene their losse and restitution from the warre called Lamiacus warre, and the battell that was fought by the citie of CRANON, in the state of Oligarchia, to wit, under the government of a fewe governors in sight, but in truth a Monarchie or kingdome, bicause they were under the government of one man *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, that had absolute authoritie over them. But by this meanes they made their savior and preserver of their contry, *Demetrius* (who seemed to have obtained such honor and glory through his goodnes and liberalitie) hateful and odious to all men, for the overgreat & unmeasurable honors which they gave him. For first of all, they called *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* kings, who before that time had alwayes refused the name, and the which, (among all other princely honors and prerogatives graunted) they that had devided betwene them the Empire of *Philip* and *Alexander*, durst never once presume to chalenge, nor to take uppon them. So unto them only they gave the style and names of the goddes saviors, and tooke away their yearly Major, whome they called *Eponymos*, bicause they did shew the yeares of olde time, by the names of them that had bene Majors. Further-

more, in stead thereof they ordeyned in the counsell of the citie, that there should yearly be chosen one by voyces of the people, whom they should name the Priest of their Saviors, whose name they should write and subscribe in all publike graunts and covenants, to shewe the yeare: and besides all this, that they should cause their pictures to be drawen in the veyle or holy banner, in the which were set out the images of their goddes, the patrones and protectors of their citie. And furthermore they did consecrate the place, where *Demetrius* first came out of his coche, and there did set up an aulter, and called it *Demetrius* aulter comming out of his coche: and unto their tribes they added two other, the ANTIGONIDES and the DEMETRIADES. Their great counsell at large which they created yearly of five hundred men, was then first of all brought into sixe hundred, bicause every tribe must needes furnishe of them selves, fifty counselors. But yet the straunGEST acte, and most new found invention of flattery, was that of *Stratocles*, (being the common flatterer and people pleaser) who put forth this decree, by the which it was ordeined: that those whome the common wealth should send unto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, should in stead of Ambassadors be called Theori, as much to say, as ministers of the sacrifices. For so were they called, whome they sent to DELPHES to *Apollo Pytheas*, or unto ELIDE, to *Jupiter Olympias*, at the common and solemne feasts of all GRÆCE, to doe the ordinary sacrifices and oblations for the health and preservation of the cities. This *Stratocles* in all things els was a desperate man, and one that had alwayes led a wicked & dissolute life: & for his shameles boldnes, he seemed to wholly follow the steppes of *Cleons* foole hardines, and olde insolencie, which (when he lived) he shewed unto the people. He openly kept a harlot in his house called *Phylacion*. One day she having bought for his supper, beastes

*The boldnes
of Stratocles
Athenian.*

*Stratocles
cruell saying.*

heades and neckes commonly eaten, he sayd unto her: why, how now? thou hast bought me acates which we tosse like balls, that have to doe in the common wealth. Another time when the armie of the *ATHENIANS* was overthrowen by sea, by the Ile of *AMORGOS*: he would needes prevent the newes of this overthrowe, and came through the streete of *Ceranicus*, crowned with garlands of flowers, as if the *ATHENIANS* had wonne the battell: and was also the author of a decree, whereby they did sacrifice unto the goddes, to give them thanks for the victorie: and meate was given amongst every tribe, in token of common joy. But shortly after the Messengers arrived, which brought report of the shipwracke and overthrowe. The people were in an uprore withal, and sent for *Stratocles* in a marvelous rage. But he with a face of brasse came unto them, and arrogantly defended the peoples ill will, and angrily told them: well, and what hurt have I done you, if I have made you mery these two dayes? Such was *Stratocles* impudencie and rashnes. But, as the Poet *Aristophanes* sayth:

*But whotter matters were that time in hand,
Than fire that wasteth both by sea and land.*

*The moneth
of Munychi-
on altered, &*

For there was another that passed *Stratocles* in knav-erie. Who procured a decree, that as often as *Demetrius* came into the citie of *ATHENS*, he should be received with all ceremonies and like solemnitie, as they use in the feasts of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*: and further that they should give unto him that did excell all the rest in sumptuousnes and riches, at such time as *Demetrius* made his entry into the citie, so much money out of the common treasure, as should serve to make an image or other offering, which should be consecrated to the temples in memorie of his liberalitie. And last of all, they chaunged the name of the moneth *Munichion* (to wit the moneth of Janu-

ary) and called it Demetrian: and the last day of the moneth which they called before the new & old moone, they then called it the Demetriade: and the feastes of *Bacchus* also called then *Dionysia*, they presently named *Demetria*. But the goddess by divers signes and tokens shewed plainly, that they were offended with these chaunges and alteracions. For the holy banner in the which (according to the order set downe) they had paynted the images of *Antigonus*, and *Demetrius*, with the pictures of *Jupiter* and *Minerva*: as they caried it a procession through the streete Ceranicus, it was torne a sonder in the midst by a tempest of winde. And furthermore, about the aulters which were set up in the honor of *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*, there grew a great deale of hemlocke, the which otherwise was impossible to growe there. On the feast day also of *Bacchus*, they were compelled to leave the pompe or procession for that daye, it was such an extreame hard frost out of all season: and besides, there fell such a myll dewe and great frost upon it, that not onely their vines and olives were killed with it, but also the most part of the wheate blades which were newly sprong up. And therefore the Poet *Philippides* (an enemy of the aforesayd *Stratocles*) in one of his comedies writeth certaine verses against him to this effect.

called Demetrian, for the honor of Demetrius name. Wonders.

Hemlocke, the usuall erbe, with the juyce whereof they poisoned offenders at Athens.

Philippides the Poet.

*The partie for whose wickednes the veyle was rent in twayne,
Which with the honor due to God did worship men most vayne,
Is he for whom our budding vines were blasted with the frost.
Those thinges and not our comedies have us so deerly cost.*

This *Philippides* was very well beloved of king *Lysimachus*, insomuch that for his sake the king had done many pleasures to the common wealth of *ATHENS*. For he loved him so dearly, that as often as he saw him, or met with him at the beginning of any warre, or matter of great importance: he was of opinion that he brought him good

*Philippides
notable answer unto
king Lysimachus, not de-
siring to
beare his
secrets.*

*Demetrius
married unto
Eurydice, at
Athens.*

lucke. For in deed he did not so much esteeme him for the excellencie of his arte, but he was much more to be beloved and esteemed, for his vertuous and honest condicions. He was no troublesom man, nether was he infected with the finenesse of court, as he shewed one day when the king made much of him, and giving him good countenance said unto him: what wilt thou have me give thee of my things *Philippides*? even what it shall please thee, O king, so it be none of thy secrets. Thus much we thought good to speake of him in bytalke, bicause an honest player of comedies, should matche with a shameles and impudent Orator of the people. But yet there was another *Democrides*, of the village of SPHETTUS, that dreamed out a more straunger kind of honor, touching the consecration of their targets, which they dedicated to the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES, that is to say, that they should goe and aske the oracle of *Demetrius*. But I wil shew you the very effect & forme of the law as it was set downe. In good hower: the people ordeyne that he should be chosen one of the Citizens of ATHENS, which shall goe unto our savior: and after that he hath done due sacrifice unto him, he shal aske *Demetrius* our savior, after what sort the people shall with greatest holines and devotion, without delay, make consecration of their holiest gifts and offerings: and according to the oracle it shall please him to give them, the people shal duely execute it. Thus, laying upon *Demetrius* al these foolish mockeries, who besides was no great wise man, they made him a very foole. *Demetrius* being at that time at leisure in ATHENS, he married a widow called *Eurydice*, which came of that noble and auncient house of *Miltiades*, and had bene married before unto one *Opheltas* Prince of the CYRENIANS, and that after his death returned againe to ATHENS. The ATHENIANS were very glad of this marriage, and thought it the greatest honor that came to

their citie, supposing he had done it for their sakes. Howbeit he was soone wonne to be married, for he had many wives, but amongst them all, he loved *Phila* best, and gave her most honor and preheminance above them all: partly for the respect of her father *Antipater*, and partly also for that she had bene first married unto *Craterus*, whome the MACEDONIANS loved best when he lived, and most lamented after his death, above all the other successors of *Alexander*. His father I suppose made him to marry her by force, although in deede her yeares was not meete for him: for he was marvelous young, and she very olde. And when *Demetrius* seemed not to be contented withall, his father rowned him softly in the eare with this saying:

*Refuze no woman nere so old,
 Whoze mariage bringeth store of gold.*

The judgement of marriage, and obedience.

Wherein he alluded cunningly to these verses of *Euripides*.

*Refuze not to become a thrall,
 Where lucre may insewe withall.*

But so much did *Demetrius* honor his wife *Phila*, and all his other wives he married, that he was not ashamed to keepe a number of Curtisans, and other mens wives besides: so that he onely of all other kings in his time, was most detected with this vice of lecherie. While these things passed on in this sort, he was commaunded by his father, to fight with *Ptolomy* for the Realme of CYPRVS. So there was no remedie but he must needes obey him, although otherwise he was very sory to leave the warre he had begonne, to set the GRÆCIANS at libertie, the which had bene farre more honorable and famous. Howbeit, before he departed from ATHENS, he sent unto *Cleonides Ptolomyes* generall, that kept the cities of COR-

*Battell by
sea in the Ile
of Cyprus,
betwixt
Demetrius
Antigonus,
and Ptolomy.*

IN THE & SICYONE to offer him money if he would sette those cities at libertie. But *Cleonides* would not be delt withall that way. Thereuppon *Demetrius* straight way tooke sea, and sayled with all his armie towards CYPRVS, where at his first comming he overcame *Menelaus Ptolomyes* brother. But shortly after, *Ptolomy* went thither in person with a great armie both by sea and land, and there passed betwixt them fierce threatnings & prowde words to eche other. For *Ptolomy* sent to *Demetrius* to bid him to depart if he were wise, before all his armie came together: which would tread him under their feete, and marche upon his bellie, if he taried their comming. *Demetrius* on the other side sent him word, that he would doe him this favor to let him escape, if he would sweare and promise unto him to withdrawe his garrisons which he had in the cities of CORINTHE, and SYCIONE. So the expectation of this battell made these two Princes not only very pensive to fight one with the other, but also all the other Lords, Princes, and kings: bicause the successe thereof was uncertaine, which of them two should prevaile. But every man judged this, that which of them obtained the victorie, he should not only be Lord of the Realme of CYPRVS and SYRIA, but therewith also of greater power then all the rest. *Ptolomy* in person with fiftie sayle beganne to rowe against his enimie *Demetrius*, and commaunded his brother *Menelaus* that when he sawe them fast grappled in fight together, he should launche out of the haven of SALAMINA, and give charge upon the rereward of *Demetrius* shippes, to breake their order, with the three score gallies he had in charge. *Demetrius* on the other side prepared tenne gallies against these three score, thinking them enowe to choke up the haven mouth being but narrowe, so that none of the gallies that were within could come out: and furthermore, he dispersed his armie by land upon the foreland poynts

which reache into the sea, and went him selfe into the
 maine sea with nyne score gallies, and gave such a fierce
 charge upon *Ptolomy*, that he valliantly made him flie. *Demetrius*
 Who when he sawe his armie broken, fled as speedily as *victorye of*
 he could with eight gallies onely: for all the rest were *Ptolomy.*
 either broken or suncke in fight, and those eight onely
 escaped, besides three score and tenne which were taken,
 and all their souldiers in them. And as for his cariage, his
 traine, his friends, his officers, and houshold servaunts,
 his wives, his gold and silver, his armor, engines of bat-
 terie, and all such other warlike furniture and munition
 as was conveyed abourd his carects and great shippes
 riding at anker: of all these things nothing escaped *Deme-*
trius hands, but all was brought into his campe. Among *Lamia, the*
 those spoyles also was taken that famous Curtisan *famous Cur-*
ia, who at the first had her name onely, for her passing *tisan, taken*
 playing upon the flute: but after she fell to Curtisan trade, *by Demet-*
 her countenance and credit increased the more. So that *rius, upon the*
 even then when her beautie through yeares fell to de- *defeating of*
 caye, and that she found *Demetrius* much younger then *Ptolomy.*
 her selfe: yet she so wanne him with her sweete convers-
 ation and good grace, that he onely liked her, and all the
 other women liked him. After this victorie by sea, *Me-*
nelaus made no more resistance, but yeelded up *Salamina*
INA and his shippes unto *Demetrius*, and put into his *yeilded up to*
 handes also twelve hundred horsemen, & twelve thow- *Demetrius.*
 sand footemen well armed. This so famous and trium-
 phant victorie was yet much more beautified, by *Deme-*
trius great bountie and goodnes which he shewed in
 giving his enemies slaine in battell honorable funeralls,
 setting the prisoners at liberty without ransom paying,
 and giving moreover twelve hundred complet armors
 unto the *ATHENIANS*. After this, *Demetrius* sent *Arist-*
odemus *MILESIAN* unto his father *Antigonus*, to tell him
 by word of mouth the newes of this victorie. *Aristodemus*

Aristodemus
a notorious
flatterer in
Antigonus
Court.

was the greatest flatterer in all *Antigonus* Court, who devised then, as it seemeth to me, to adde unto this employte the greatest flatterie possible. For when he had taken land after he was come out of the Ile of CYPRVS, he would in no wise have the shippe he came in to come neare the shoare, but commaunded them to ride at anker, and no man so hardy to leave the shippe: but he himself got into a litle boate, and went unto *Antigonus*, who all this while was in marvelous feare and perplexitie for the successe of this battell, as men may easily judge they are, which hope after so great incertainties. Now when worde was brought him that *Aristodemus* was comming to him all alone, then was he worse troubled than afore, insomuch that he could scant keepe within dores him selfe, but sent his servaunts and friends one after another to meete *Aristodemus*, to aske him what newes, and to bring him worde presently againe how the world went. But not one of them could get any thing out of him, for he went on still fayer and softly with a sad countenance, and very demurely, speaking never a worde. Wherefore, *Antigonus* hart being cold in his belly, he could stay no lenger, but would him selfe goe and meete with *Aristodemus* at the gate, who had a marvelous preasse of people following on him, besides those of the Court which ranne out to heare his aunswer. At length when he came neare unto *Antigonus*, holding out his right hand unto him, he cryed out alowd, God save thee, O king *Antigonus*: we have overcome king *Ptolomy* in battell by sea, and have wonne the Realme of CYPRVS, with sixteene thowsand and eyght hundred prisoners. Then aunswered *Antigonus*, and God save thee to: Truly *Aristodemus* thou hast kept us in a trawNSE a good while, but to punishe thee for the payne thou hast put us to, thou shalt the later receive the reward of thy good newes. Then was the first time that the people with a lowde

voice called *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* kings. Now for *Antigonus*, his friendes and familiers did at that present instant put on the royall band or diadeame uppon his heade: But for *Demetrius*, his father sent it unto him, and by his letters called him king. They also that were in ÆGYPT with *Ptolomy*, understanding that, did also call and salute him by the name of king: bicause it shoulde not seeme that for one overthrowe received, their hartes were deade. Thus this ambition by jelousie and emulation, went from man to man to all *Alexanders* successors. For *Lysimachus* then also beganne to weare the diadeame, and likewise *Seleucus*, as often as he spake with the GRÆCIANS: for before that tyme, he delt in matters with the barbarous people as a king. But *Cassander*, though others wrote them selves kinges, he onely subscribed after his wonted manner. Now this was not onely an increase of a newe name, or chaunging of apparell, but it was such an honor, as it lyft up their hartes, and made them stand upon them selves: and besides it so framed their manner of life & conversation with men, that they grewe more prowd and stately, then ever they were before: like unto common players of tragedies, who apparelling them selves to playe their partes upon the stage, doe chaunge their gate, their countenance, their voyce, their manner of sitting at the table, and their talke also. So that afterwards they grew more cruell in commaunding their subjects, when they had once taken away the viser and dissimulation of their absolute power, which before made them farre more lowly and gentle in many matters unto them. And all this came through one vile flatterer, that brought such a wonderfull chaunge in the worlde. *Antigonus* therefore puffed up with the glory of the victorie of his sonne *Demetrius*, for the conquest of CYPRVS: he determined forthwith to set upon *Ptolomy*. Him selfe led the armie by land, having his sonne *De-*

The first time Antigonus and Demetrius were called kinges.

Note the force of flattery by Aristodemus Milesian. Antigonus and Demetrius jorney against Ptolomy.

*Medius
dreame.*

metrius Still rowing by the shore side with a great fleete of shippes. But one of his familliers called *Medius*, being a-sleepe had a vision one night that told him, what should be the ende and successe of this jorney. He thought he sawe *Antigonus* ronне with all his armie who should have the upper hande, and that at the first he ranne with great force and swiftnes: but that afterwarde his strength and breath fayled him so much, that when he should returne, he had scant any poulse or breath, and with much adoe retyred agayne. And even so it chaunced unto him. For *Antigonus* by land, was eftsoones in great daunger: and *Demetrius* also by sea was often in hazard to leave the coast, and by storme and weather to be cast into places, where was nether haven, creekes, nor harbarough for his shippes. And at length, having lost a great number of his shippes, he was driven to returne without any attempt given. Nowe *Antigonus* was at that tyme litle lesse then foure score yeare olde, but yet his fatte and corpulent bodie was more combersom to him then his yeares: therefore beeing growen unmeete for warres, he used his sonne in his place. Who for that he was fortunate, as also skilfull through the experience he had gotten, did wisely governe the waightiest matters. His father besides did not passe for his youthfull partes, lavishe expences, and common dronkennes he gave him selfe unto. For in tyme of peace, he was given over to all those vices: but in tyme of warre, he was as sober and continent, as any man so borne by nature. And therefore it is reported, that *Lamia* beeing manifestly knowen to be Mystresse over him, one daye when he was come from hunting, he came (as his manner was) to kisse his father: and that *Antigonus* smyling upon him sayde, what, howe now Sonne, doest thou thinke thou art kissing of *Lamia*? Another tyme *Demetrius* was many dayes together drinking and ryoting, and sawe not his father: and then

*Antigonus
mirth with
his sonne
Demetrius.*

to excuse him selfe unto him, he tolde him he had gotten a rewme that made him keepe his chamber, that he could not come to him. So I heard sayde *Antigonus*: but was it of THASOS or CHIOS, that rewme? he spake it, bicause that in neither of those two Ilands, there were excellent good wines. Another tyme *Demetrius* sent his father worde that he was not well. Thereuppon *Antigonus* went to see him, and comming thither, he mette a fayer younge boye at his doore. So he went uppe to his chamber, and sitting downe by his bedds side, he tooke him by the hande to feele his poulse. *Demetrius* tolde him that his fever had left him but a litle before. I knowe it well, sayde *Antigonus*: for I mette the younge boye even at the doore as I came in. So *Antigonus* did gently beare with his sonnes faultes, in respecte of his many other vertues he had. The voyce goeth that the SCYTHIANS, when they are disposed to drinke dronke together, doe divers tymes twange the strynges of their bowes, as though that woulde serve to keepe the strength of their courage & hardines, which otherwise the pleasauntnes of the wine woulde take from them. But *Demetrius* gave him selfe to one thinge at one selfe tyme. Sometime to take his pleasure, sometime to deale in matters of waight, and in all extremitie he ever used but one of them, and woulde never myngle the one with the other: and yet this notwithstanding he was no lesse politike and circumspect to prepare all manner of munition for warres. For as he was a wise Captaine to leade an armie, so was he also very carefull to provide all thinges meete for their furniture, and woulde rather have too muche, then too litle. But above all, he exceeded in sumptuous building of shippes, and framing of all sortes of engines of batterie, and specially for the delight he tooke to invent and devise them. For he had an excellent naturall witte to devise suche workes, as are made by witte and hande, and did not bestowe his witte and in-

*A straunge
custom of the
Scythians in
their dron-
kenness.*

*Demetrius a
skilfull Cap-
taine, and an
excellent
Shipwright.*

*Sundry de-
lights of
Princes.*

*Demetrius
wonderfull
workes.*

vention in handie craftes, in trifeling toyes and bables: as many other kinges that have given them selves to playe on flutes, others to paynte and drawe, and others also to Turners craftes. As *Æropus* kinge of MACEDON, who delighted to make fine tables, and pretye lampes. And *Attalus*, surnamed *Philometor* (to saye, as lover of his mother) that woulde plante and sette Phisicall herbes, as Hel-leborum, Lingewort, or Beares foote: Hyoscynamum, Henbane, Cicuta, Hemlocke, Aconitum, Libardbaine or Woolfebaine, and Dorycinum: for the which we have no Englishe worde: all these would he set him selfe with his owne handes in the gardeins of his pallaice, and also gather them in tyme of the yeare, to knowe the vertue and power of them. As *Arsaces*, the kinges of PARTHIA, that boasted they coulde them selves make their arrowe heades, & sharpen them. But the artificers workes which *Demetrius* practised, shewed that they came from a king. For his manner of workemanshippe had a certen greatnes in it, the which even with the suddeltie and finenes of his workes, shewed the trymme handeling of the worke-man: So that they appeared not onely worthy the understanding and riches of a king, but also the forging and making by the handes of a great king. For his friendes did not onely wonder at their greatnes, but his very enemies also were delighted with the beautie of them. And this is more true, then meete to be spoken: the enemies could but marvell when they sawe his gallies rowing alongest the coaste, with fifteene or sixteene bankes of ores: and his engines of batterie which they called Elep-olis (to saye, engines to take cities) were a spectacle of great admiration unto those whome he beseeged, as the events following did throughly witnesse. For *Lysimachus* who of all other kings did malice *Demetrius* most, comming to raise the seege from the citie of SOLI in CILICIA, the which *Demetrius* beseeged: he sent unto

him to pray him to let him see his engines of batterie, and his gallies rowing uppon the sea. *Demetrius* graunting him, *Lysimachus* returned with wonderfull admiration. The RHODIANS also having long time defended his seege, at the last made peace with him, and prayed him to leave some one of his engines with them, for a perpetuall testimony and remembrance both of his power, and also of their corage and valliantnes. The cause why *Demetrius* made warre with the RHODIANS, was, bicause they were confederats with king *Ptolomy*, he brought against their walles the greatest engine he had, the foote whereof was like a tyle, more long then broad, and at the base on either side it was eyght and fortie cubits longe, and three score and sixe highe, rising still narrow even to the very top: so that the upper partes were narrower then the nether, and within it were many pretty roomes and places conveyed for souldiers. The forepart of it was open towards the enemye, and every roome or partition had windowes, out of the which they bestowed all kind of shot, bicause they were full of armed men, fighting with all sortes of weapons. But nowe, bicause it was so well framed and counterpeased, that it gave no way, nor reeld of ether side, which way soever they removed it, but that it stode fast and upright upon her foundation, making a terrible noyse and sownde: that made the worke as wonderfull to behold, as it was a marvelous pleasure for men to see it. In this warre were brought unto *Demetrius* two notable armors weying fortie pound a peece, and made by one *Zoilus* an armorer: who to shewe the hardnes and goodnes of the temper, suffered them to be proved and shot at at six score paces, with the engines of their batterie: and albeit the armors were shot at, and hit, yet were they never pearsed, and but onely a litle race or skretch scene, as it were of a bodkin or penknife, and had no more hurte. *Demetrius* alwayes ware one of them in

*Demetrius
beseged
Rhodes.*

*The description of
Demetrius greatest engine of
battery,
called Elephantis.*

*Two armors
made of notable temper
by Zoilus an
armorer.*

*Alcimus
Albanian,
ware an ar-
mor of six
score pound
weight.*

*The discourte-
sie of the
Rhodians.*

*The great
cortesie of the
Athenians
unto king
Philip Prot-
ogenes, borne
in the citie of
Caunus: an
excellent
paynter.*

*Protogenes
table of the*

these warres, & *Alcimus* ALBANIAN the other, the strong-
est and valliantest man he had in all his hoast, and that
onely caried a complete armour weying six score pownde,
where all other souldiers ware none above three score.
This *Alcimus* was slayne at RHODES valliantly fighting
by the Theater. In this seege the RHODIANS did valliantly
defende them selves, that *Demetrius* could doe no acte
worthy memorie. This notwithstanding, although he
sawe he could not preuaile, but lose his tyme, yet was he
the more obstinately bent against them, to be even with
them: bicause they had taken a shippe of his, in the which
his wife *Phila* had sent unto him certaine hangings of
tapestry, linnen, apparell, and letters, and bicause they
had sent them all unto *Ptolomy*, as soone as they had taken
them. But therein they did not follow the honest cur-
tesie of the ATHENIANS: who having intercepted cer-
taine currers of king *Philips* that made warre against
them, they opened all the letters they caried, & red them,
saving onely his wife *Olympiaes* letters she sent him, the
which they sent unto king *Philip* sealed, as they were
when they received them. Nowe though this part did
much greue and offend him, yet he could not finde in his
hart to serve them in that sorte, when he might have
done it not longe after. For by chaunce at that tyme,
Protogenes an excellent paynter, borne in the city of CAV-
NVS, did paynt them the draught of the citie of ITALYSVS.
Demetrius found this table in a house in the suburbs of
the citie, being almost ended. The RHODIANS thereup-
pon sending a Herauld unto him, to beseeche him to
spare the defacing of so goodly a work: he returned them
aunswer, that he would rather suffer his fathers images
to be burnt, then so excellent and passing a worke as that
to be loste, and brought to nothing. For it is reported,
that *Protogenes* was seven yeares drawing of the same:
and it is also sayde, that *Apelles* him selfe when he sawe

it did so wonder at it, that his speeche fayled him, and he
 stooode muet a longe tyme, and at last sayde: surely there
 is a wonderfull peece of worke, and of great labor, yet
 they want those graces and ornaments whereby those
 that I paynt doe reache unto heaven. This table after-
 wardes being brought to ROME, and hanged up with
 others, was in the ende burnt by fire. Nowe as the RHOD-
 IANS were desirous to be rid of this warre, and that *Dem-*
etrius also was willing to take any honest occasion to doe
 it: the Ambassadors of the ATHENIANS came happely to
 serve both their desires, who made peace betweene them
 with these condicions. That the RHODIANS shoulde be
 confederats with *Antigonus* & *Demetrius*, against all men,
 but *Ptolomy* onely. The ATHENIANS sent for *Demetrius*,
 upon *Cassanders* comming to laye seege to their citie.
 Whereuppon *Demetrius* immediatly hoysed sayle towards
 ATHENS, with three hundred and thirty gallies, and a
 great number of men of warre besides: so that he did not
 only drive *Cassander* out of the province of ATTICA, but
 followed him even to the straight of THERMOPYLES, and
 there overthrew him in set battell, and received the citie
 of HERACLEA, which willingly yelded unto him, and
 sixe thowsand MACEDONIANS that came unto him to
 take his part. So in his returne backe, he set all the GRÆC-
 IANS at libertie on this side the straight: he made league
 with the BOEOTIANS, and tooke the citie of CENCHREES,
 and the castells of PHYLE and PANACTOS, in the frontiers
 and confines of ATTICA, in the which *Cassander* had left
 garrisons to keepe the contry in subjection: and after he
 had driven them out of the contry, he rendred the forts
 againe unto the ATHENIANS. Therefore though it seem-
 ed the ATHENIANS had before bestowed to their utter-
 most power all kinds of honors that could be offered him,
 every man striving for life to preferre the same: yet they
 found out new devises to flatter and please him. For they

citie of Ialy-
sus, greatly
commended
by Apelles
him selfe.

Demetrius
concludeth
peace with
the Rhod-
ians.

Demetrius
victories in
Grace.

Antigonus
shamefast-
nes.

Demetrius
wantonnesse.

The names of
Demetrius
Curtisans.'

ordeyned that the place behind the temple of *Minerva*, called Parthenon (as who would say, the temple of the virgin) should be prepared for his house to lye in: and they sayd, that the goddessse *Minerva* did lodge him with her. But to say truely, he was too unchast a ghest, to thinke that a mayden goddessse would be content he shoulde lye with her. And yet his father *Antigonus* perceiving that they had lodged his sonne *Philip* on a time in a house, where there were three younge women, he sayde nothing to *Philip* him selfe, but before him he sent for the harbinger, and sayde unto him: wilt thou not remove my sonne out of this straight lodging, and provide him of a better? And *Demetrius*, that should have revered the goddessse *Minerva*, though for no other respect, but bicause he called her his eldest sister, (for so he woulde she shoulde be called) he defiled all the castell where was the temple of these holy virgines, with horrible and abominable insolencies, both towards younge boyes of honest houses, as also unto younge women of the citie. So that this place seemed to be most pure and holy, at such time as he laye with his common Curtisans, *Chrysis*, *Lamia*, *Demo*, and *Anticyra*. It shall not be greatly for the honor of the citie of *ATHENS*, to tell perticularly all the abhominable partes he committed there. But *Democles* vertue & honestie deserveth worthye and con-digne remembrance. This *Democles* was a younge boye that had no heare on his face, of whose beautie *Demetrius* being informed by the surname he had, as commonly called through the citie, *Democles* the fayer: he sought divers waies to intise him, both by fayer meanes, large promisses and giftes, and also with threatens besides. But when he saw no man could bringe him to the bent of his bowe, and that the younge boye in the ende seeing him so importunate upon him, came no more to the common places of exercise where other children used to recreate

them selves, and that to avoide the common stooves, he went to wash him selfe in another secret stoove: *Demetrius* watching his time and hower of going thither, followed him, and got in to him being alone. The boy seing him selfe alone and that he could not resist *Demetrius*, tooke of the cover of the kettel or chawdron where the water was boyling, and leaping into it, drowned him selfe. Truly he was unworthy of so lamentable an ende, but yet he shewed a noble hart, worthy of his beautie and contry. But he did not as another called *Cleænetus*, the sonne of *Cleomedon*, who brought letters from *Demetrius* directed to the people, whereby, through *Demetrius* intercession and request, his fathers fine of fifty talents in the which he was condemned (and for nonpayment remained prisoner) was clerely remitted and forgiven. But by this acte, he not onely shamed and dishonored him self, but also troubled all the citie. For the people there-uppon released *Cleomedon* of his fine, but therewith they made a decree that no Citizen should thenceforth bring any moe letters from *Demetrius*. But afterwards, understanding that *Demetrius* was marvelously offended with this decree: they did not onely revoke their first decree, but they did also put some of them to death, which were the procurers and authors of the decree, and others also they banished. And further they made a lawe, that the people of *ATHENS* should account all religious to the gods, and just unto men, whatsoever it pleased *Demetrius* to order and appoynt. At that time there was one of the chiefest men of the citie, that saide *Stratocles* was a mad man to preferre such matters. In deede, quod *Demochares* surnamed *LACONIAN*, he were a mad man if he were otherwise: and he spake it, bicause this *Stratocles* had many great pleasures at *Demetrius* hands for this flatterie. Howbeit *Demochares* being accused and condemned upon these wordes, he was banished *ATHENS*. See after

*Demetrius
journey into
Pelopon-
nesus.*

*Demetrius
married Dei-
damia, king
Pyrrhus
sister: and
chaunged the
name of the
citie of Sicy-
one, and call-
ed it Demet-
riade.*

*Demetrius
chosen gen-
erall of all
Græce.*

*Demetrius
pride.*

what sorte the A^THENIANS used them selves, who seem-
ed to be delivered from the garrison they had before, and
to be restored unto their former libertie and freedom.
From thence *Demetrius* went into PELOPONNESVS, and
never an enemy of his durst tary his coming, but all
fled before him, and left him their castels and townes.
Thus *Demetrius* wan unto him selfe all the contry called
ACTE, and all ARCHADIA, saving the citie of MANTIN-
EA: and for the summe of an hundred talents given am-
ongest them, he delivered the cities of ARGOS, SICYONE,
and of CORINTHE, from the garrisons that laye among-
est them. About that tyme fell out the great feast of *Juno*
in ARGOS, called Heræa. Therefore *Demetrius*, to honor
this feaste with the GRÆCIANS, married *Deidamia* (the
Daughter of *Æacides*, king of the MOLOSSIANS, and sis-
ter of *Pyrrhus*) and perswaded the SICYONIANS to leave
their citie, and to come and builde in an other goodly
place neare unto it, where they now doe dwell: and so
with the place and situacion, he chaunged also the name
of the citie. For in steade of SICYONE, he made it to be
called DEMETRIADE. Then at a generall assembly of the
states of GRÆCE, which was kept in the straight of PELOP-
ONNESVS, called ISTHMOS: *Demetrius* was chosen Lieue-
tenant generall of all the GRÆCIANS, as *Philip & Alexan-*
der, (both kings of MACEDON) had bene before him, un-
to whom he did not only compare him self, but thought
him selfe greater than they, bicause fortune smiled on
him, and for that he had so good successe in all his af-
fayres. Whereas *Alexander* did never take away the title
and name of king, from any other kings: nether did ever
call him selfe king of kings, although he had given unto
divers of them the name and power of a king. And in
contrary manner also, *Demetrius* laughed them to scorne
which called any other Princes, kings, but his father and
him selfe. Moreover he tooke great pleasure to heare his

flatterers, who being at banquetts called for wine to drinke to king *Demetrius*, & then to *Seleucus* maister of the Elephants, to *Ptolomy* Admiral, to *Lysimachus* keeper of the treasure, and to *Agathocles* SICILIAN, governor of the Iles. All the kings, but *Lysimachus*, laughed at these toyes when they were reported to them: but *Lysimachus* was very angry, and thought great skorne that *Demetrius* should reckon him a gelding, for that it was an old custom commonly to give an Euenuke the charge of keeping the treasure. So *Lysimachus* of all other Princes did beare him most malice, & bicause he would finely tawnt him for that he ever kept *Lamia* his Curtisan with him: until this present time, said he, I never saw harlot play in a tragedy before. *Demetrius* aunswered him againe, that his harlot was chaster, then *Penelope* his wife. So *Demetrius* departing for that time out of PELOPONNESVS, tooke his journey towards ATHENS, and wrote before to the ATHENIANS, that when he came thither he would be received into the fraternitie of the holy mysteries, and that he ment they should shew him at one selfe time, all that was to be seene, even from the least to the highest secrets of their ceremonies, called Eoptices, bicause they made the brethren of the fraternitie see them long time after that they had bene first received into the lesser ceremonies: the which was not lawfull then, neither was ever heard of before. For these smaller misteries in olde time were celebrated in the month of November, and the greater in the month of August: and beside it was not lawfull to celebrate or use these ceremonies within the space of a yeare one of thother. When these letters were openly red, no man durst speake against them, but *Pythodorus* the Priest, who caried the torche lighted when they shewed these misteries. Howbeit his words prevailed not, for by the devise of *Stratocles* it was enacted at an assembly of the citie, that the month of March in the

*Philippides
verses against
Stratocles
the boaster.*

which they were at that time, should be called and reputed November. And so, as they could best helpe it by their ordinaunces of the citie, they did receive *Demetrius* into the fraternitie of the misteries: & afterwards againe, this selfe month of March which they had translated into November, became sodainly August: and in the self same yeare was celebrated the other ceremonie of these great misteries, whereby *Demetrius* was admitted to see the most straightest & secretest ceremonies. Therefore *Philippides* the Poet inveying against the sacriledge, and impietie of religion prophaned by *Stratocles*, made these verses of him:

*Into one mooneth his comming hither
Hath thrust up all the yeare together.*

And afterwards because *Stratocles* was the procurer that *Demetrius* was lodged in the temple of *Minerva* within the castell:

*Of chaste Minervaze holy Church he makes a filthie stewes,
And in that Virgins very sight his harlots doth abuse.*

*Demetrius
prodigall gift
of 250. tal-
ents to his
Curtisans to
buy them
sope.*

But yet of all the insolent parts done at that time in *ATHENS*, (although many were committed) none of all the rest greved the *ATHENIANS* more, then this did: that *Demetrius* commaunded them they should presently furnish him with two hundred and fifty talents. The taxation of this payment was very harde unto them, both for the shortnes of the time appoynted them, as also for the impossibilitie of abating any part of it. When he had seene all this masse of money laid on a heape before him, he commaunded it should be given to *Lamia*, and among his other Curtisans, to buy them sope. The shame the *ATHENIANS* received by this gift, greved them more, than the losse of their money: and the words he spake to the great contempt of them and their citie, did more

trouble them, then the payment they made. Some say notwithstanding, that *Demetrius* did not alone use the *ATHENIANS* thus shamefully, but the *THESSALIANS* also in the same manner. But passing this over: *Lamia* of her selfe, and through her owne countenance, did get a great summe of money together of divers persons for one supper she made unto *Demetrius*, the preparation whereof was of such exceeding charge, that *Lycæus* borne in the Ile of *SAMOS*, did set downe the order thereof in writing. And therefore a certain Poet no lesse pleasantly, then truely, called this *Lamia*, Elepolis: to wete, an engine to take cities. And *Demochares* also borne in the citie of *SOLI*, called *Demetrius* a fable, bicause he had ever with him: as in the fables which olde women tell litle children, there is ever lightly a *Lamia*, as much to say, as a witche, or sorceresse. So that the great credit and authoritie this *Lamia* had, and the love which *Demetrius* bare her: did not onely cause his wives suspect and envy him, but made him hated also of all his friends and familliers. And therfore certen gentlemen whom *Demetrius* sent in ambassade unto king *Lysimachus*, he talking famillierly with them, and passing the time away, shewed them great wounds of the clawes of a lyon upon his armes and legges, telling them also how he was forced to fight with the lyon, when through king *Alexanders* fury he was shut up in his denne with him: they smiling to heare him, told him that the king their maister had also certeine markes and bytings on his necke, of a vile beast called *Lamia*. And to say truely, it was a wonderfull thing, that marrying (as he did) his wife *Phila* so much against his will, bicause she was too olde for him: how he was so ravished with *Lamia*, and did so constantly love her so long together, considering that she was also very old, and past the best. Therefore *Demo*, surnamed *Mania*, (as much to say, the mad woman) pleasantly aunswered

*Lamia made
Demetrius a
supper of her
owne cost.*

*Lamia Ele-
polis.*

*The saying of
Demo a
Curtisan,*

*touching
Lamia, and
Demetrius.*

*A pretty sute
commenced
upon a lovers
dreame, and
the judgement
reversed by
Lamia the
Curtisan.*

*The sotteltie
of Lamia, re-
versing Boc-
choris sen-
tence.*

Demetrius, asking her one night when *Lamia* had plaid on the flute all supper time, what she thought of *Lamia*? an old woman, O king, quod she. Another time when frute was served in, after the bord was taken up: do you see said *Demetrius*, how many pretty fine knackes *Lamia* sendeth me? My mother, aunswered *Demo* againe, will send you moe then these, if you please to lye with her. It is reported of this *Lamia*, that she overthrew *Bocchoris* judgement in a matter. In *ÆGYPT* there was a young man that had a marvelous fancie unto a famous Curtisan, called *Thonis*: who did aske him suche a great summe of money to lye with her, that it was impossible for him to give it her. At length, this amorous youth beeing so deepe in love with her, dreamed one night he lay with her, and enjoyed her: so that for the pleasure he tooke by his conceyt and imagination, when he awaked, his earnest love was satisfied. This Curtisan whome he had cast fancie to, hearing of his dreame, did put him in sute before the Judges, to be payed her hyer for the pleasure the younge man had taken of her by imagination. *Bocchoris* hearing the summe of her complaynt, commaunded the younge man to bringe before him in some vessell, at a daye appoynted, as muche money as she did aske him to lye with her. Then he badde him tosse it too and froe in his hande before the Curtisan, that she shoulde but onely have the shadowe and sight of it: for, quod he, imagination and opinion, is but a shadowe of truth. *Lamia* sayde this was no equall judgement: for, sayth she, the shadowe onely, or the sight of the money, did not satisfie the covetousnes of the Curtisan, as the younge mans lust was quenched by his dreame. Thus enough spoken of *Lamia*. But now, the misfortunes and jeasts of him we presently write of: they do transport our historie, as from a comycall into a tragicall theater, that is to saye, from pleasaunt and light matter, into lamentable and bytter teares. For

all the Princes and Kinges conspyred generally agaynst *Antigonus*, and joyned all their force and armies together. *The conspi-
acy of the
kings against
Antigonus.* Therefore *Demetrius* departed forthwith out of GRÆCE, and came to joyne with his father, whose courage he founde more lively and better given to this warre, then his yeares required: besides that *Demetrius* comming made him the bolder, and did lifte uppe his harte the more. And yet it seemes to me, that if *Antigonus* would but have yeelded uppe a fewe trifling thinges, and that he coulde or would have brydeled his over immoderate covetous desire to raigne: he had bothe kept for him selfe all the tyme of his life, and also lefte after his deathe unto his sonne, the supreamest dignitie and power, above all the other Kinges and successors of *Alexander*. But he was so cruell, and rashe of nature, and as insolent and brave in his doinges, as in his wordes: that thereby he stirred uppe, and brought uppon him as his enemies, many great and mighty Princes. For even at that present time he said, that he would as easely disperse and scatter a sunder that conspiracie against him, as chowghes or other litle birdes comming to pecke up the corne newly sowed, are easely scared away with a stone, or making any litle noyse. So he caried to the field with him, above *Antigonus
and his en-
emies armie.* three score and tenne thowsand footemen, tenne thowsand horsemen, and three score and fiftene Elephantes. His enemies had three score and foure thowsande footemen, and five hundred horsemen more then he, with foure hundred Elephants, and six score cartes of warre. When the two armies were one neere unto the other, me thinkes he had some imaginacion in his head that chaunged his hope, but not his corage. For in all other battells and conflictes, having commonly used to looke bigge of the matter, to have a lowde high voyce, and to use brave wordes, and sometime also even in the chiefeſt of all the battell to geve some pleasant mocke or other, shewing a

certaine trust he had in him selfe, and a contempt of his enimie: then they sawe him oftentimes alone, and verie pensive, without ever a word to any man. One day he called all his armie together, and presented his sonne unto the souldiers, recommending him unto them, as his heire and successor, and talked with him alone in his tent. Whereat men marvelled the more, bicause that he never used before to imparte to any man the secrets of his counsell & determination, no not to his owne sonne, but did all things of him selfe: and then commaunded that thing openly to be done, which he had secretly purposed. For prooffe hereof it is said, *Demetrius* being but a young man, asked him on a time when the campe should remove: and that *Antigonus* in anger aunswered him, art thou affrayed thou shalt not heare the sownd of the trompet? Furthermore, there fell out many ill signes and tokens that killed their harts. For *Demetrius* dreamed that *Alexander* the great appeared armed unto him at all peeces, and that he asked him what word or signall of battell they were determined to geve at the day of the battell. He aunswered, that they were determined to geve, *Jupiter*, and *Victorie*. Then said *Alexander*, I will goe to thine enemies that shall receive me. And afterwardes, at the very day of the overthrow, when all their armie were set in battell ray: *Antigonus* comming out of his tent, had such a great fall, that he fell flat on his face on the ground, and hurte him selfe verie sorely. So when he was taken up, then lifting up his handes to heaven, he made his prayers unto the goddes, that it would please them to graunt him victorie, or sodaine death without great paine, before he shoulde see him selfe vanquished, and his armie overthrowen. When both battells came to joyne, and that they fought hand to hand: *Demetrius* that had the most parte of the horsemen with him, went and gave charge upon *Antiochus* the sonne of *Seleucus*, and fought

*Demetrius
dreame and
signes.*

*Demetrius
upon the first
onset, made*

it out so valliantly on his side, that he overthrew his enemies, and put them to flight. But too fondly following the chase of them that fledde, and out of time: he married all, and was the occasion of the losse of his victorie. For when he returned from the chase, he could not joyne againe with their footemen, because the Elephants were betwene both. Then *Seleucus* perceiving *Antigonus* battell was naked of horsemen, he did not presently set upon them, but turned at one side as though he would environ them behinde, and made them affrayed: yet making head as he would charge them, only geve them leasure to come on their side, as they did. For the most parte of *Antigonus* hoast did forsake him, and yeelded unto his enemies: and the rest of them fled every man. And when a great trowpe of men together went with great furie to geve charge on that side where *Antigonus* was: one of them that were about him, sayd unto him: your grace had neede take heede, for these men come to charge us. He aunswered againe: but how should they know me? And if they did, my sonne *Demetrius* will come & helpe me. This was his last hope, and still he looked everie way if he could see his sonne comming towards him: untill at length he was slaine with arrowes, darts, and pikes. For of all his frendes and souldiers there taried not one man by his bodie, but *Thorax* of the citie of *LARISSA* in *THESALIE*. Now the battell having suche successe as you have heard, the Kings and Princes that had won so glorious a victorie, as if they had cut a great bodie into sundrie peeces: they devided *Antigonus* kingdome among them, and everie man had his part of all the provinces and contries which *Antigonus* kept, adding that unto their other dominions which they possessed afore. Now *Demetrius* flying with all possible speede that might be, with five thowsand footemen and foure thowsand horsemen, he got to the citie of *EPHESVS*: where everie man mis-

*Antiochus
the sonne of
Seleucus, fle.
Overrashly
chasing the
enemies, he
lost his vict-
orie, and was
overcome.*

*The death of
king Antig-
onus.*

*Demetrius
flight.*

*The unfaith-
fulness of the
Athenians
towards
Demetrius.*

*Overgreat
honors are
signes of un-
constant
friendship.*

trusted, that being needie of money as he was, he would not spare the temple of *Diana* in *EPHESVS*, but would rife all the gold and silver in it. And in contrarie maner also, *Demetrius* being affrayed of his souldiers, least they would spoyle it against his will: he sodainly departed thence, and sayled towards *GRÆCE*, putting his greatest confidence and affiance in the *ATHENIANS*, bicause he had left his wife *Deidamia* at *ATHENS*, with shippes and some money, supposing he could goe no whether with better safety in his adversitie, then to *ATHENS*, of whose good wills he thought him selfe assured. Wherefore when Ambassadors of the *ATHENIANS* came unto him, and found him not farre from the Iles *CYCLADES*, as he sailed with great speede towards *ATTICA*, and that they had declared unto him, he should forbear to come unto their citie, bicause the people had made an ordinance to suffer no moe kings to come into *ATHENS*, and that they had sent *Deidamia* his wife honorable accompanied unto the citie of *MEGARA*: then was *Demetrius* for verie anger and passion of minde, cleane out of countenance, although untill that time he had patiently borne his adversitie, and his hart had never failed him. But this nipped him to the harte, when he sawe (that contrarie to expectation) the *ATHENIANS* had deceived and failed him in his greatest neede, and that in his adversitie he found their former frendshippe counterfeate, and altogether dissembled. Whereby most plainly appeareth, that the most uncerteine and deceiveable profe of peoples good wills and cities towards Kings and Princes, are the immesurable and extreame honors they doe unto them. For sith it is so, that the trueth and certainty of honor proceedeth from the good will of those that give it: the feare which the common people commonly stand in of the power of kings, is sufficient cause for them to mistrust that the people doe it not with good will and

from their harts, considering that for feare they doe the selfe same things, which they will also doe for love. Therefore grave and wise Princes should not passe so much for the images and statues they set up for them, or the tables or divine honors they doe decree unto them: as to regard their owne workes and deedes, and weying them truely, so to beleve and receive their honors for true, or otherwise to reject and mistrust them, as things done by compulsion. For commonly it is that which maketh the people to hate kings the more, when they doe accept these immesurable and extreame honors done unto them, but those sortes chiefly hate them most, that against their wills are forced to doe them those honors.

Demetrius seeing then how injuriously the *ATHENIANS* had used him, and at that time not knowing how to be revenged of them: he modestly sent unto them only to make his complaints, and to demaund his shippes, among the which was that galley of sixteene banckes of owers. The which when he had received, he hoysed saile immediatly towards the straight of *PELOPONNESVS*, and there found all things to goe against him. For in every place where he had left any garrison, the Captaines that had the charge of them, either yeelded them up, or else revolted, and kept them against him. Therfore leaving *Pyrrihus* his Lieutenaunt in *GRÆCE*, he tooke sea againe, and sailed towards *CHERRONESVS*, and there with the mischieves he did, and with the spoiles he got in king *Lysimachus* land, he payed his men, and enriched his army, the which began againe to increase, and to be dreadfull to his enemies. But now for *Lysimachus*, the other kings made no great accompt of him, neither did they sturre to geve him aide, bicause he was nothing inferior unto *Demetrius*: and for that he was of greater power and possessions then them selves, they therefore were the more affrayed of him. Shortly after, *Seleucus* sent unto

Seleucus requireth Stratonice (Demetrius daughter) in marriage.

Demetrius, to require his daughter *Stratonice* in marriage, notwithstanding that he had a sonne alreadie called *Antiochus*, by his wife *Apama* a PERSIAN. Howbeit he thought that his affaires and greatnes of his estate and kingdom, was able enough to maintaine many successors after him. And furthermore, he considered with him selfe that he should have neede of *Demetrius* allyance, bicause he saw *Lysimachus* him selfe matche with one of *Ptolomyes* daughters, & his sonne *Agathocles* with his other daughter. *Demetrius* seeing this good fortune offered him beyond all hope, presently tooke his daughter with him, and sailed with all his shippes directly towards SYRIA. In the which voyage he was constrained of necessitie to

Plistarchus, the brother of Cassander, at that time Governor of Cilicia.

lande sometimes, and specially in CILICIA, the which *Plistarchus* the brother of *Cassander* kept at that time, being geven him by the other kings for his parte and portion of the spoyle of *Antigonus*, after he was overthrowen. This *Plistarchus* thinking that *Demetrius* landed not to refresh him selfe, but to forrage and spoyle bicause he woulde complaine of *Seleucus* for the allyance he made with their commonemie, without the consent and privitie of all the other Kings and Princes confederats, he went purposely unto his brother *Cassander*. *Demetrius* having intelligence thereof, sodainly invaded the land, and spoyled as farre as the citie of CYNDES, and caried away (which he had leavied) twelve hundred talentes, which he found yet left of his fathers treasure: and then with all the speede he could possible he returned to his shippes, and hoysed sayle. Shortly after, his wife *Phila* also came unto him. So *Seleucus* received them all neere unto the citie of OROSSVS, and there their meeting was Princely, without sorow or suspicion one of the other. First of all *Seleucus* did feast *Demetrius* in his tent, in the middest of his campe: and afterwards *Demetrius* feasted him againe in his galley, with thirteene bankes of owers.

Demetrius invadeth Cilicia.

Thus they passed many dayes together, feasting and re-
 joycing eche with other, being unarmed, and having no
 souldiers to waite upon them: untill at length *Seleucus*
 with his wife *Stratonice* departed, and tooke his way with
 great pompe towards the citie of ANTIOCHE. Nowe
 for *Demetrius*, he kept the province of CILICIA, and sent
 his wife *Phila* unto her brother *Cassander*, to aunswere
 the complaints & accusacions of *Plistarchus* against him.
 In the meane time *Deidamia* his wife departed out of
 GRÆCE to come unto him: who after she had remained
 with him a few dayes, dyed of a sicknesse. Afterwardes
Demetrius comming againe in favor with *Ptolomy*, by *Seleucus*
 his sonne in lawes meanes: he married his daughter
Ptolemæide. Hitherunto *Seleucus* used *Demetrius* verie cur-
 teously: but afterwards he prayed him to deliver him
 CILICIA againe, for a summe of money that he offered
 him: but *Demetrius* plainly denyed him. Then did *Seleucus*
 shew a cruell and tyrannicall covetousnesse: for in anger,
 and with fierce threats and countenaunce he asked him
 the cities of TYR, and SIDON. But therein me thinkes he
 lacked honestie and civility: as though he that had under
 his obedience and subjection all that which lay betwext
 the INDIANS, and the sea of SYRIA, was in suche neede
 and povertie: that for two cities onely, he shoulde drive
 his father in law from him, who had susteined so hard
 and bitter chaunge. But thereby he rightly confirmed
Platoes saying: that he that will be riche in deede, must
 endeavor him selfe not to increase his riches, but rather
 to diminish his covetousness. For he shal never be but a
 begger, & needie, whose covetous desire hath no ende.
 This notwithstanding, *Demetrius* yeelded not for feare,
 but provided to replenish the cities with good garrisons
 to keepe them against him: saying, that though he had
 bene overcome ten thowsande times more in battell, yet it
 should never sincke into his head that he shoulde be con-

Seleucus
marieth
Stratonice,
Demetrius
daughter.

The death of
Deidamia
Demetrius
wife.
Demetrius
marieth
Ptolemæide,
Ptolomies
daughter.
Dissention
betwext
Demetrius
and Seleucus.

Platoes say-
ing of riches.

*Demetrius
journey against
the Athen-
ians.*

tented, & thinke him selfe happie to buy *Seleucus* allyance so deere. On thother side, being advertised that one *Lachares* having spied oportunitie when the *ATHENIANS* were in civill warres one against the other, and that he had overcomen them, and did tyrannically usurpe the government: he then perswaded him selfe that he might easely winne it againe, if he came thither upon the sodaine. Thereuppon he crossed the seas with a great fleete of shippes, without any daunger: but he had such a great storme and tempest upon the coast of *ATTICA*, that he lost the most parte of his shippes, and a great number of his men besides. But for him selfe he scaped, and began to make a litle warre with the *ATHENIANS*. Yet perceiving that he did no good there, but lost his time: he sent some of his men to gather a number of shippes againe together, and he him selfe in the meane time went into *PELOPONNESVS*, to laye siege to the citie of *MESSENA*, where his person was in greate daunger. For fighting hard by the wall, he had such a blowe with a dart, that it hit him full in the mouth, & ranne through his cheeke. Notwithstanding this, after he was healed of that wound, he brought into his subjection againe, certaine townes that had rebelled against him. After that, he returned againe into *ATTICA*, and tooke the cities of *ELEVSIN*, and of *RHAMNVS*: and then spoyled all the contrie, & tooke a shippe freight with corne, and hong up the marchaunt that ought it, and the maister of the shippe that brought it. Thereby to terrifie all other marchauntes, that they shoulde be affrayed to bring any more corne thither, and so to famish the citie, by keeping them from all thinges necessarie for their sustenance: and so it happened. For a bushell of salt was sold at *ATHENS* for fortie silver Drachmas, and the bushell of wheate for three hundred Drachmas. In this extreame necessitie, the *ATHENIANS* had but a short joy for the hundred and fiftie gallies they

saw neere unto *ÆGINA*, the which *Ptolomy* sent to aide them. For when the souldiers that were in them sawe that they brought unto *Demetrius* a great number of shippes out of *PELOPONNESVS*, out of *CYPRVS*, & diuers other partes, which amounted in the whole to the number of three hundred saile: they weyed their anckers, and fled presently. Then *Lachares* forsooke the city, and secretly saved him selfe. Nowe the *ATHENIANS*, who before had commaunded uppon paine of death, that no man should make any motion to the counsell, to treat of any peace with *Demetrius*: they did then upon *Lachares* flying, presently open the gates next unto *Demetrius* campe, and sent Ambassadors unto him, not looking for any grace or peace, but bicause necessitie drave them to it. During this so hard and straight siege, there fell out many wonderfull and straunge things: but among others, this one is of speciaall note. It is reported that the father and the sonne sitting in their house, voide of all hope of life: there fell a dead ratte before them from the toppe of the house, and that the father and sonne fought who should have it to eate. Moreover, that at the selfe same siege the Philosopher *Epicurus* maintained him selfe and his schollers, by geving them a proporcion of beanes everie day, by the which they lived. Thus the citie of *ATHENS* being brought unto this extremitie, *Demetrius* made his entrie into it, and gave commaundement to all the citizens, that they shoulde assemble everie man within the Theater: where he made them to be compassed in with armed souldiers, and then placed all his gard armed about the stage. Afterwards he came downe him selfe into the Theater, through high galleries and entries by the which the common players used to come to play their partes in tragedies, insomuche as the *ATHENIANS* were then worse affrayed then before: howbeit *Demetrius* presently pacified their feare, as soone as he beganne to speake

The Athenians doe yeelde unto Demetrius.

A rare devise of Epicurus, at the straight siege of Athens, to keepe his schollers alive with beanes.

*Demetrius
clemency un-
to the Athe-
nians.*

unto them. For he did not facion his Oration with a haste angrie voyce, neither did he use any sharpe or bitter wordes: but onely after he had curteously told them their faults and discourtesie towards him, he sayd he forgave them, and that he would be their frende againe: and furthermore, he caused tenne millions of bushells of wheate to be geven unto them, and stablished such Governors there, as the people misliked not of. Then *Democles* the Orator, seeing that the people gave out great showtes of joy in the praise of *Demetrius*, and that the Orators dayly contended in the pulpit for Orations, who should exceede other in preferring newe honors for *Demetrius*: he caused an order to be made, that the havens of *PIRÆVS* and *MVNYCHIA* should be put into *Demetrius* handes, to use at his pleasure. This being stablished by voyces of the people, *Demetrius* of his owne private authoritie did place a greate garrison within the forte called *MVSÆVM*, because the people should rebell no more against him, nor divert him from his other enterprises. Thus when he had taken *ATHENS*, he went to set upon the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. But *Archidamus* king of *LACEDÆMON*, came against him with a puisant armie, whom he discomfited in battell, and put to flight, by the citie of *MANTINEA*. After that he invaded *LACONIA* with all his armie, & made an inrode to the citie of *SPARTA*, where he once againe overthrew the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in set battell, tooke five hundred of them prisoners, and slue two hundred: insomuch that every man thought he might even then goe to *SPARTA* without any daunger to take it, the which had never yet bene taken affore by any. But there was never king that had so often and sodaine chaunges of fortune as *Demetrius*, nor that in other affaires was ever so often litle, and then great: so sodainly downe, and up againe: so weake, and straight so strong. And therefore it is reported, that in his great adversities when fortune

*Demetrius
jorney against
the Lacedæ-
monians.*

*Demetrius
variable for-
tune.*

turned so contrarie against him, he was wont to crie out
uppon fortune, that which *Æschylus* speaketh in a place:

*Thou seemst to have begotten me, of purpose for to shoue
Thy force in lifting of me up, me downe againe to throw.*

Nowe againe when his affaires prospered so well, and that he was likely to recover a great force and kingdome: newes were brought him, first that *Lysimachus* had taken all his townes from him, which he helde in ASIA: and on the other side, that *Ptolomy* had won from him all the realme of CYPRVS, the citie of SALAMINA onely excepted, in the which he kept his mother and children very straightly besieged. This notwithstanding, fortune played with him, as the wicked woman *Archilochus* speaketh of, who,

*Did in the one hand water show,
And in the other fire bestow.*

For taking him away, and (as it were) the citie of SPARTA also out of his handes by these dreadfull newes, even when he was certaine to have won it: she presently offered him hopes of other great and new thinges, by this occasion following. After the death of *Cassander*, *Philip* who was the eldest of all his other sonnes, and left his heir and successor in the kingdome of MACEDON: he reigned no long time over the MACEDONIANS, but deceased soone after his father was dead. The two other brethren also fell at great variance, and warres together: so that the one called *Antipater*, slue his owne mother *Thessalonica*: and the other being *Alexander*, called in to aide him *Demetrius*, & *Pyrrhus*, the one out of the realme of EPIRV, and the other out of PELOPONNESVS. *Pyrrhus* came first before *Demetrius*, and kept a great parte of MACEDON for recompence of his paines, comming to aide him at his desire: so that he became a dreadful neigh-

*Demetrius
misfortunes.*

*Great dis-
sention and
strife for the
realme of
Macedon,
after the
death of Cas-
sander.
Antipater
and Alexan-*

*der, the
sonnes of
Cassander.*

*Demetrius
invadeth
Macedon.*

*Wyles be-
twext Alex-
ander and
Demetrius.*

bour unto *Alexander* him selfe, that had sent for him into his contrie. Furthermore, when he was advertised that *Demetrius* did presently upon the receite of his letters, set forward with all his armie to come to aide him: the young Prince *Alexander*, was twice as muche more amazed and affrayed, for the great estate and estimacion of *Demetrius*. So he went to him notwithstanding, and received him at a place called *Deion*, and there imbraced and welcomed him. But immediatly after, he told him that his affaires were nowe in so good state, that praised be the goddes he should not now neede his presence to aide him. After these words the one began to mistrust the other. So it chaunced one day, that as *Demetrius* went to *Alexanders* lodging where the feast was prepared: there came one to him to tell him of an ambush that was layed for him, and how they had determined to kill him when he should thinke to be merie at the banquet. But *Demetrius* was nothing abashed at the newes, and only went a litle softlier, not making such hast as he did before, and in the meane time sent to commaunde his Captaines to arme their men, and to have them in readines: and willed his gentlemen and all the rest of his officers that were about him, (which were a greater number by many than those of *Alexanders* side) every man of them to go in with him into the hall, and to tarie there till he rose from the table. By this meanes the men whome *Alexander* had appointed to assault him, they durst not, being affrayed of the great traine he had brought with him. Furthermore, *Demetrius* faining that he was not well at ease at that time to make merie, he went immediatly out of the hall, and the next morning determined to depart, making him beleve that he had certaine newes brought him of great importaunce: and prayed *Alexander* to pardon him, that he could no lenger keepe him companie, for that he was driven of necessitie to depart from him, and

that an other time they woulde meete together, with better leasure and libertie. *Alexander* was verie glad to see that *Demetrius* went his way out of MACEDON not offended, but of his owne good will: whereuppon he brought him into THESSALY, and when they were come to the citie of LARISSA, they began againe to feast one an other, to intrappe eche other: the which offered *Demetrius* occasion to have *Alexander* in his hand, as he would wish him selfe. For *Alexander* of purpose would not have his gard about him, fearing least thereby he should teach *Demetrius* also to stand upon his gard. Thus *Alexander* turned his practise for an other, upon him selfe: for he was determined not to suffer *Demetrius* to scape his handes, if he once againe came within daunger. So *Alexander* being bidden to supper to *Demetrius*, he came accordingly. *Demetrius* rising from the borde in the middest of supper, *Alexander* rose also, being affrayed of that straunge manner, and followed him foote by foote to the verie dore. Then *Demetrius* sayd but to his warders at the gate, kill him that followeth me. With those wordes he went out of the dores, and *Alexander* that followed him was slaine in the place, and certaine of his gentlemen with him which came to rescue him: of the which, one of them as they killed him sayd, that *Demetrius* had prevented them but one day. All that night, (as it is no other likely) was full of uprore and tumult. Howbeit, the next morning the MACEDONIANS being marvelously troubled and affrayed of *Demetrius* great power, when they saw that no man came to assaile them, but that *Demetrius* in contrarie maner sent unto them to tell them that he would speake with them, and deliver them reason for that he had done: then they all began to be bolde againe, and willingly gave him audience. Nowe *Demetrius* needed not to use many wordes, nor to make any long Orations, to win them unto him: for, bicause they hated *Antipater*

Demetrius
killeth
Alexander
the sonne of
Cassander.

*Demetrius
proclaimed
king of Mac-
edon.*

as a horrible manqueller and murderer of his mother, and bicause they had no better man to preferre, they easely chose *Demetrius* king of MACEDON, and thereupon brought him backe into MACEDON, to take possession of the kingdom. This chaunge was not misliked of the other MACEDONIANS that remained at home in their contrie, for that they yet remembred the traiterous and wicked fact of *Cassander*, against *Alexander* the great: for which cause they utterly hated and detested all his issue and posteritie. And furthermore, if there were any sparke of remembrance in their harts, of the bounty and goodnes of their grandfather *Antipater*: *Demetrius* received the frute and benefit, for his wife *Philaes* sake, by whom he had a sonne that should succeede him in the kingdom, and was a proper youth, in campe with his father. *Demetrius* having this great good happe and fortune comen unto him, he received newes also that *Ptolomy* had not onely raised his siege from the citie of SALAMINA, where he kept his mother and children straightly besieged: but further, that he had done them great honor, and bestowed great giftes upon them. On the other side also he was advertised, that his daughter *Stratonice*, who had before bene married unto *Seleucus*, was now married againe unto *Antiochus*, the sonne of the sayd *Seleucus*, and how that she was crowned Queene of all the barbarous nations inhabiting in the high provinces of ASIA: and that came to passe in this maner. It chaunced that this young Prince *Antiochus* (as love overcometh all men) became in love with his mother in law *Stratonice*, who alreadie had a sonne by *Seleucus* his father. She being young, and passing fayer, he was so ravished with her, that though he proved all the wayes possible to maister his furie and passion that way: yet he was still the weaker. So that in the end, condemning him selfe to death bicause he found his desire abhominable, his passion incurable, and his

*Antiochus,
the sonne of
Seleucus
married his
mother in law
Stratonice,
with his fath-
ers good will.*

reason utterly overcome: he resolved to kill him selfe by litle and litle, with abstinence from meate and drinke, and made no other reckoning to remedie his grieve, faining to have some secret inward disease in his body. Yet could he not so finely cloke it, but that *Erasiſtratus* the Phisitian easely found his grieve, that love, not sicknes, was his infirmitie: howbeit it was hard for him to imagine with whom he was in love. *Erasiſtratus* being earnestly bent to finde out the partie he loved, he sate by this young Prince all day long in his chamber, and when any fair young boy or wife came to see him, he earnestly looked *Antiochus* in the face, and carefully observed all the partes of the bodie, and outward movings, which do commonly bewray the secret passions and affections of the mind. So having marked him divers times, that when others came to see him, whatsoever they were, he still remeined in one selfe state, and that when *Stratonice* his mother in lawe came alone or in companie of her husband *Seleucus* to visite him, he commonly perceived those signes in him, which *Sappho* wryteth to be in lovers (to wit, that his words and speech did faile him, his colour became red, his eyes still rowled to and fro, and then a sodaine swet would take him, his pulse would beate fast and rise high, and in the end, that after the force and power of his hart had failed him, and shewed all these signes, he became like a man in an extasie and traunse, and white as a kearcher) he then gathering a true conjecture by these so manifest signes and declaracions, that it was only *Stratonice* whom this young Prince fansied, and the which he forced him selfe to keepe secret to the death: thought that to bewray it to the king it would offend him muche, but yet trusting to his great affection and fatherly love he bare to his sonne, he ventred one day to tell him, that his sonnes sicknesse was no other but love, and withall, that his love was impossible to be

Erasiſtratus
Phisitian to
Seleucus.

Erasiſtra-
tus the Phis-
itians care,
to finde out
the young
Prince An-
tiochus love.
Sappho des-
cribeth the
signes and
tokens of a
passioned
lover.

enjoyed, and therefore that he must of necessitie dye, for it was incurable. *Seleucus* was cold at the harte to heare these newes: so he asked him, what, is he incurable? Yea, Sir, aunswered the Phisitian, bicause he is in love with my wife. Then replied *Seleucus* againe, alas *Erasistratus*, I have alwayes loved thee as one of my dearest frendes, and wouldest thou not now doe me this pleasure, to lette my sonne marry thy wife, sith thou knowest it well that I have no moe sonnes but he, and that I see he is but cast away, if thou helpe me not? But your grace would not doe it your selfe, sayd *Erasistratus*: if he were in love with *Stratonice*. O, sayd *Seleucus* to him againe, that it were the wil of the gods, some god or man could turne his love that way: for mine owne parte, I would not only leave him the thing he loved, but I would geve my kingdom also to save his life. Then *Erasistratus* seeing that the king spake these words from his hart, & with abundance of teares: he tooke him by the right hand, and told him plainly, your grace needeth not *Erasistratus* helpe in this. For being father, husbände, and king, your selfe also may onely be the Phisitian, to cure your sonnes disease. When *Seleucus* heard that, he called an assemblie of the people, and declared before them all that he was determined to crown his sonne *Antiochus* king of the high provinces of ASIA, and *Stratonice* Queene, to marry them together: and that he was perswaded that his sonne, (who had alwayes shewed him selfe obedient to his fathers will) would not disobey him in this mariage. And as for *Stratonice*, if she misliked this mariage, and would not consent unto it bicause it was no common matter: then he prayed that his frendes would perswade her she should thinke all good and comely that should please the king, and withall that concerned the general benefit of the realme and common wealth. Hereuppon *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were married together. But now to returne a-

*Seleucus love
unto his
sonne Anti-
ochus.*

gaine to the history of *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* came by the kingdom of MACEDON and THESSALIE, by this meanes as you have heard, and did moreover possesse the best parte of PELOPONNESVS, and on this side the straight, the cities of MEGARA, and ATHENS. Furthermore he led his armie against the BOEOTIANS, who were at the first willing to make peace with him. But after that *Cleonymus* king of SPARTA was come into the city of THEBES with his army, the BOEOTIANS encouraged by the faire wordes and allurement of one *Pisis*, borne in the citie of THESPIS, who at that time bare all the sway and chiefe authoritie amongst them: they gave up their treaty of peace they had begon with *Demetrius* and determined to make warre. Therupon *Demetrius* went to besiege the citie of THEBES, and layed his engines of battery unto it: insomuch as *Cleonymus* for feare, stole secretly out of the citie. Thereupon the THEBANS being also affrayed, yeelded them selves unto *Demetrius* mercie: who putting great garrisons into the cities, and having leaved a great summe of money of the province, left them *Hieronimus* the historiographer, his Lieutenant and Governor there. So it appeared that he used them very curteously, and did them many pleasures, and specially unto *Pisis*. For when he had taken him prisoner, he did him no hurt, but received him very curteously, and used him well: and furthermore, he made him Polemarchus, (to wit, campe maister) in the city of THESPIS. Shortly after these things were thus brought to passe, king *Lysimachus* by chaunce was taken by an other barbarous Prince called *Dromichetes*. Thereupon, *Demetrius*, to take such a noble occasion offred him, went with a great army to invade the contry of THRACIA, supposing he should find no man to withstande him, but that he might conquer it at his pleasure. Howbeit, so soone as *Demetrius* back was turned, the BOEOTIANS revolted againe from him, and therwithall

*The citie of
Thebes yeeld-
ed unto Dem-
etrius.
Hieronimus
the historio-
grapher,
Demetrius
Lieutenant.*

newes was brought him, that *Lysimachus* was delivered out of prison. Then he returned backe with all speede, marvelously offended with the BOEOTIANS, whom he found already discomfited in battell, by his sonne *Antigonus*, and went againe to lay siege to the citie of THEBES, being the chiefe city of al that province of BOEOTIA. But at that present time, *Pyrrhus* came and forraged all THESSALY, and entred even to the straight of THERMOPYLES. Therefore *Demetrius* was constrained to leave his sonne to continewe the siege at THEBES, whilst he him selfe went against *Pyrrhus*, who sodainly returned againe into his realme. So *Demetrius* left ten thowsand footemen, and a thowsand horsemen in THESSALY to defend the contry, and returned with the rest of his army to win THEBES. Thereupon he brought his great engine of batterie called Elepolis, against the wall, as you have heard before, the which was thrust forward by litle and litle, with great labor, by reason of the weight and heavines of it: so that it could scant be driven forward two furlongs in two monthes. But the BOEOTIANS and the THEBANS did valliantly defend them selves: and *Demetrius* of a malicious minde & desire of revenge, (more oftner then needefull, or to any purpose) compelled his men to go to the assault, and to hazard them selves: so that there were daily a great number of them slaine. *Antigonus* his sonne perceiving it: alas, said he, why doe we thus suffer our men to be slaine and cast away to no purpose? Wherefore *Demetrius* angrily aunswered him againe: what needest thou to care? Is there any* corne to be distributed to those that are dead? But notwithstanding, bicause men should not thinke he still ment to put others in daunger, and durst not venter him selfe: he fought with them, till at length he was shot through the necke with a sharpe arrow head, that was shot at him from the wall. Wherewithall he fell very sicke, but yet raised not his siege, nor

* *Corne monthly distributed to the souldiers, as their wages.*

removed his campe, but tooke the citie of THEBES againe by assault: the which being not long before againe replenished with people, was in ten yeares space twice won and taken. Now he put the THEBANS in a marvelous feare, by his cruell threats he gave them at his coming into THEBES: so that they looked to have received the extreamest punishment the vanquished could have, through the just wrath & anger of the conqueror. Howbeit after *Demetrius* had put thirtene of them to death, and banished some: he pardoned all the rest. About that time fell out the celebration of the feast called Pythia, in the honour of *Apollo*: and bicause the ÆTOLIANS kept all the high wayes to bring them unto the city of DELPHES in the which of olde time they did use to celebrate those sports aforesaid: he caused them to be kept and solemnised at ATHENS as in a place where this god in reason should be best honored and revered, bicause he was patrone of the citie, and for that the ATHENIANS maintained that he was their progenitor. From thence he returned into MACEDON, and knowing that it was against his nature to live idelly, and in peace, and seing on the other side also that the MACEDONIANS did him more service, and were more obedient to him in warres, and that in time of peace they grew seditious, full of vanity and quarrell: he went to make warre with the ÆTOLIANS, and after he had spoiled and destroyed their country, he left *Pantauchus* his Lieutenant there, with a great part of his army. *Demetrius* him selfe went in the meane *Demetrius* time with the rest of his army against *Pyrrhus*: & *Pyrrhus* journey against *Pyrrhus*. also against him, but they missed of meeting ech with other. Whereupon *Demetrius* passed further unto the realme of EPIRVS, the which he spoiled and foraged. *Pyrrhus* on the other side went on so farre that he met with *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* Lieutenant, with whom he fought a battell, and came to the sword with him: so that

he did both hurt him, and was also hurt by him. But in the end *Pyrrhus* had the upper hand, he put *Pantauchus* to flight, and slue a great number of his men, and tooke five thowsand prisoners: the which was the chief overthrow of *Demetrius*. For *Pyrrhus* wan not the MACEDONIANS ill will so much for the mischieves and hurts he had done unto them, as he got him selfe great fame and renowne with them, bicause him selfe alone had with his owne hands done all the noble exployts of warre in that journey: for the which, he was afterwarde had in great estimacion among the MACEDONIANS. Nowe many of them began to say, that he was the only king of all others, in whom the lively image of the hardines and valliantnes of *Alexander* the great was to be seene: and that all the rest, (but specially *Demetrius*) did but counterfeate his gravetie and Princely countenance, like players upon a stage that would counterfeate his countenance and gesture. And to say truly, there was much finenes and curiosity about *Demetrius*, to make him a playing stocke in common playes. For some say, that he did not only weare a great hat with his diadeame upon his head, and was apparelled in purple gownes imbrodered with gold: but also that he did use to weare certaine wollen shooes on his feete died in purple colour, not woven, but facioned together like a felt, and gilt upon it. And furthermore, he had long before caused a cloke to be made of a marvelous rich and sumptuous peece of worke. For upon it was drawn the figure of the world, with starres and circles of heaven, the which was not throughly finished by the chaunge of his fortune. So, there was never king of MACEDON after him that durst weare it: albeit there were many prowde and arrogant kings that succeded him. Now the MACEDONIANS were not onely sory, and offended to see suche things, as they were not wont to be acquainted withall: but they much more misliked this cur-

*Demetrius
insolencie.*

*Demetrius
cloke drawn
with the
figure of the
world, and
starres.*

ious maner of life, and specially bicause he was ill to come to, and worse to be spoken with. For he gave no audience, or if he did, he was very rough, and would sharply take them up that had to do with him. As, he kept the Ambassadors of the ATHENIANS two yeres, and would geve them no answere: and yet made as though he loved them better, then any other people of GRÆCE. Another time also he was offended, bicause the LACEDÆMONIANS had sent but one man only Ambassador unto him, taking it that they had done it in despite of him.

And so did the Ambassador of the LACEDÆMONIANS answer him very gallantly, after the LACONIAN maner. For when *Demetrius* asked him, how chaunceth it that the LACEDÆMONIANS do send but one man unto me? No more but one, said he, O king, unto one. On a time he came abroad more plainly and popularlike, then he was wont to do: whereby he put the people in good hope that they might the easelier speake with him, and that he would more curteously heare their complaints. Thereupon many came, and put up their humble supplicacions and bills of petition unto him. He received them, and put them up in the lappe of his cloke. The poore suters were glad of that, and waited upon him at his heeles, hoping they should quickly be dispatched: but when he was upon the bridge of the river of *Axius*, he opened his cloke, and cast them all into the river. This went to the harts of the MACEDONIANS, who then thought they were no more governed by a king, but oppressed by a tyrant: and it grieved them so much more, bicause they did yet remember (either for that they had seene themselves, or otherwise heard their forefathers say) howe curteous king *Philip* was in all such matters, and howe that one day as he passed through the streete, a poore old woman pluckt him by the gowne, and eftsoones humbly besought him to heare her, but he answered her he was

*The plaine
answere of
the Amba-
sador of
Sparta, unto
Demetrius.*

Axius fl.

*The praise of
king Philips
curtesie.
The bolde*

*speache of a
poore woman
to king
Philip.
The chiefeſt
office of a
king.*

*Demetrius
called a
Fortgainer.*

not then at leasure. Whereuppon the poore woman plainly cried out to him, leave then to be king. This word so nettled him, and he tooke such a conceit of it, that he returned presently to his pallace, and setting all other matters a part, did nothing else many dayes but gave him selfe to heare all sutes, and began with this poore olde woman. For truly nothing becommeth a Prince better, then to minister justice: for *Mars* (as *Timotheus* saith) signifieth force, and is a tyran: but justice and law, according to *Pindarus*, is Queene of all the world. Moreover, the wise Poet *Homer* saith not that Princes & Kings have received the custody of engines, and of munition, neither also strong and mighty ships of *Jupiter*, to kepe them to destroy townes withall: but with them to maintaine law and justice. And therefore he calleth not the cruell and bloody king, but the just and merciful Prince, *Jupiters* frend and scholler. And *Demetrius* boasted that he had a name and title contrarie unto *Jupiter*, whom they called *Polieus*, or *Poliouchos*, signifying protector and preserver of cities: and that he was called *Poliorcetes*, a Fortgainer. Thus the ill was taken for the good, and vice preferred for vertue: bicause he could not discern the truth from falsehood, which turned his injustice to glory, and iniquity to honor. But now to returne where we left: *Demetrius* fell into a great and daungerous sickenes in the citie of *PELLA*, during which time he almost lost all *MACEDON*, by a sodaine invasion *Pyrrhus* made, who in maner rode it all over, and came as farre as the city of *EDESSA*. Howbeit so sone as he recovered health again, he easely drave him out, and afterwards made peace with him, bicause he would not fighting with him (whom he should have daily at his dores stil skirmishing sometime here, sometime there) lose the oportunity, and weaken him selfe to bring that to passe which he had determined. For he had no small matters in his head, but thought to recover all

the realmes his father had: and besides, the preparacion he made was no lesse sufficient, then the purpose of such an imagination required. For he had leaved and assembled an army of a hundred thowsand footemen, lacking but two thowsand: and unto them he had also well neere twelve thowsand horsemen, and had besides gotten above five hundred shippes together, which were built part in the haven of PIRÆVS, part at CORINTH, part in the city of CHALCIS, and part about PELLA. He him selfe in person went through their workehouses, and shewed the artificers how they should make them, and did help to devise them: so that every man wondred not onely at his infinite preparacion, but at the greatnes and sumptuousnes of his works. For at that time there was no man living that ever saw a gally of fifteene or sixteene banks of owers. But this is true, that afterwards *Ptolomy*, sur-named *Philopator*, built a gally of forty bankes of owers, the which was two hundred foure score cubits long, and from the keele in height to the top of the poope, eight and forty cubits: and to looke to the tackle and guide her, required foure hundred mariners, and four thowsand water men to row her, and besides all that she could yet cary above the hatches, wel nere three thowsand fighting men. Howbeit this gally never served to other purpose but for show, and was like to a house that never sturred: and it was never removed out of the place where it was built but with marvelous a do, and great daunger, more to make men wonder at it, then for any service or commodity it could be employed unto. But now, the beawty of *Demetrius* shippes did nothing hinder their swiftnes & goodnes for fight, neither did the hugenes of their building take away the use of them, but their swiftnesse and nimblenes deserved more commendacion, then their sumptuousnes and statelines. Thus as this great power and preparacion was in hand, being such as never king before

*Demetrius
armie and
preparacion
for the re-
covering of
his realme
again.*

*Ptolomyes
wonderfull
galley of forty
bankes of
owers.*

*Three kings
Seleucus,
Ptolomy, and
Lysimachus
conspired
against
Demetrius.*

(since the time of *Alexander* the great) had assembled a greater to invade ASIA: these three kings, *Ptolomy*, *Seleucus*, and *Lysimachus*, did all joyne together against him. And afterwarde also, they sent Ambassadors unto *Pyrrhus* in the name of them all, to draw him to their side, alluring him to come into MACEDON, perswading him not to repose any trust in the peace *Demetrius* had made with him, to make accompt of it as a good and sure peace: for, they said that *Demetrius* did not give him pledge that he would never make warre with him, but rather first tooke oportunitie him self to make warre with whom he thought good. *Pyrrhus* considering so much, and finding their words true: there rose a sharpe and cruell warre on every side against *Demetrius*, who tracted him, & stayed yet to begin. For at one selfe time, *Ptolomy* with a great flete of shippes came downe into GRÆCE, and made all GRÆCE revolt from him: and *Lysimachus* also on THRACIAES side, and *Pyrrhus* upon the borders of EPIRV, confining with the realme of MACEDON, they entred with a great army, & spoiled & sacked all as they went. Thereupon *Demetrius* leaving his sonne *Antigonus* in GRÆCE, he returned with all possible speede into MACEDON, to goe first against *Lysimachus*. But as he was preparing to go against him, newes were brought him that *Pyrrhus* had already taken the citie of BERRHOEA. This newes being blowen abroad amongst the MACEDONIANS, all *Demetrius* doings were turned topsie turvey. For all his campe was straight full of teares and complaints, and his men began openly to shew their anger against him, speaking all the ill they could of him: so that they would tary no lenger, but every one prayed leave to depart, pretending to looke to their busines at home, but in truth to go and yeeld them selves unto *Lysimachus*. Wherefore *Demetrius* thought it best for him to get him as farre from *Lysimachus* as he could, and to bend all his army against

Pyrrhus: because the other was their contry man, & familiarly knowen among the most of them, for that they had served together under *Alexander* the great, and that as he thought, the MACEDONIANS would not preferre *Pyrrhus* a straunger, before him. But there his judgement failed him. For as soone as *Pyrrhus* had pitched his campe hard by him, the MACEDONIANS that had ever loved valiantnes, and had of ancient time esteemed him worthier to be king, that was the best souldier and valliantest in the field, and furthermore had heard the report of his great clemency and curtesy he had shewed to the prisoners he had taken: they having had good will of long time sought but good occasion to forsake *Demetrius*, and to yeeld them selves unto *Pyrrhus*, or to any other prince whatsoever he were. Then they secretly began to steale away one after an other, by smal companies at the first: but afterwards there rose such a general tumult against him throughout all the campe, that some of them were so desperat to go into his tent to bid him flie, and save himselfe, because the MACEDONIANS were too weary with fighting for his curiosity. And yet *Demetrius* found these words more gentle, and modest, in respect of the vile and cruel words which others gave him. So he went into his tent, and cast a black cloke about his face, in stead of his rich and stately cloke he was wont to weare: not like unto a king, but like a common player when the play is done, and then secretly stale away. When this was knowen in the campe, many of his souldiers ran to his tent to riffe it, and every man tooke such hold of it to have his part, that they tare it in peces, and drew their swords to fight for it. But *Pyrrhus* comming in the midst of the tumult, pacified this sturre, and presently without blow given, wan al *Demetrius* campe: and afterwards he devided the realme of MACEDON with *Lysimachus*, in the which *Demetrius* had quietly raigned the

Demetrius
armie for-
saketh him,
and goeth to
Pyrrhus.

space of seven yeres. Now *Demetrius* being thus miserably overthrowen, and turned out of all his realme: he fled unto the city of CASSANDRIA. There he found his wife *Phila*, who tooke it marvelous heavily, and could not abide to see him againe a private man, driven out of his kingdom, and the most miserable king that ever was of all other. Wherefore intending no more to follow vaine hope, and detesting the fortune of her husband:

*Phila, Demetrius wife
poysoneth her selfe.*

she being more constant in calamity then in prosperity, killed her selfe with poison she tooke. *Demetrius* went from thence into GRÆCE, purposing to gather together the rest of his shipwracks: and there assembled all his Captaines and frends that he had. So it seemeth to me, the comparison *Menelaus* maketh of his fortune, in one of the tragedies of *Sophocles*, in these verses:

*Demetrius
straunge
fortune.*

*My state doth turne continually about on fortunes wheele,
Whose double dealing divers times inforst I am to feele:
Resembling right the moone whose face abideth at no stay
Two nights together, but doth chaunge in shape from day to day:
At first she riseth small with hornes. And as in age she growes,
With fuller cheekes and brighter light a greater face she shoves.
And when she commeth to the full, and shineth faire and bright,
Among the goodly glistring starres the goodlyest in the night:
She fades and falles away againe, and runnes a counterpace,
Untill she have forgone the light and figure of her face.*

This comparison might I say much better be applied unto *Demetrius* fortune, to his rising and falling, and to his overthrowe and reliefe againe. For when every man thought his force and power utterly overthrowen, then began he to rise againe by repaire of souldiers, which by litle and litle came unto him, and straight revived him with good hope. This was the first time that he was ever seene meanely apparelled, like a private man up & down the contry, without some shewe or tokens of a king. And

there was one that seeing him in this estate at THEBES, pleasauntly applied these verses of *Euripides* unto him:

Of god immortall, now become a mortall wight:

Ismenus bankes and Dirces streames he haunteth in our sight.

*Demetrius
miserie from
Princely
happines.*

Nowe when he beganne to have some hope againe, and was (as it were) entred into the great high way of kinges, and had gotten souldiers about him, which made a bodie and shew of royall power: he restored the THEBANS their libertie and government againe. But the ATHENIANS once more revolted from him, and did revoke the dignitie and Priesthoode of *Diphilus*, who had bene that yeare created Priest of the saviours, in steade of the Governour, which they called in old time Eponymos, as we have told you before: and made a lawe, that from thencefoorth the auncient and common Governors of their citie should be restored againe to their auncient manner: and they sent also into MACEDON unto king *Pyrrhus*, rather to terrifie *Demetrius* (whome they sawe beginne to rise againe) then for any hope they had he woulde come and helpe them. Howebeit *Demetrius* came against them with great furie, and did straightly besiege the citie of ATHENS. Then the ATHENIANS sent *Crates* the Philosopher to him, a man of great estimacion and authoritie, who so handled him, partely by intreatie, and partely also through his wise perswasions and counsells he gave him for his profit: that *Demetrius* presently raised his siege. Wherefore, after he had gathered together so many shippes as were left him, and had imbarked twelve thowsande footemen, and a small number of horsemen: he presently tooke sea, and sailed towards ASIA, meaning to take the provinces of CARIA and LYDIA from *Lysimachus*, and to make them to rebell against him. There *Eurydice*, sister to his wife *Phila*, received him by the citie of MILETVM, having with her one of *Ptolomyes* daugh-

*Crates the
Philosopher
delivereth
Athens from
Demetrius
siege.*

*Demetrius
marrieth Pto-
lemæide.*

ters and hers, called *Ptolemæide*, the which had been aff-
fore affianced to him by *Seleucus* meanes. So he married
Ptolemæide there, with the good will and consent of her
mother *Eurydice*. After his marriage he presently went in-
to the field againe, and did set forwardes to winne some
cities, whereof many willingly received him, and others
he tooke by force. Amongst them he tooke the city of
SARDIS, whether came divers Captaines unto him of
king *Lysimachus*, who yeelded them selves, and brought
him a greate number of men, and muche money besides.
But *Demetrius* receiving advertisement that *Agathocles*,
Lysimachus sonne, followed him with a great armie: he
went thence into PHRYGIA, making account, and also
hoping, that if he coulde winne ARMENIA, he might
easily make MEDIA rebell, and then that he woulde see
if he coulde conquer the high provinces of ASIA, where
he might have many places of refuge, if fortune turned
against him. *Agathocles* followed him verie neere, and
yet skirmishing divers times with him, *Demetrius* alway
had the better: howbeit *Agathocles* did cut of his vittells
from him everie waye and kept him at such a straight,
that his men durst no more stray from the campe to for-
rage: wherefore, they susteyned greate want of vittells,
and then beganne his men to be affrayed, and to mistrust
that he would make them followe him into ARMENIA
and MEDIA. The famine dayly increased more and more
in his armie, and it chaunced besides, that missing his
waye, and failing to gage the forde well as he passed over
the river of Lycus, the furie and force of the river caried
his men downe the streame, and drowned a great num-
ber of them: & yet notwithstanding these great troubles,
they mocked him besides. For one wrote at the entrie
and comming in to his tent, the first verse of the tragedie
of *Oedipus* COLONIAN, wrytten by *Sophocles*, chaunging
onely some word.

*Demetrius
troubles in
Asia.*

*Thou impe of old and blind Antigonus,
To what a point hast thou now caried us?*

But in the end, the plague began also in the middest of this famine, (a common thing, and almost a matter of necessitie, it should so be) because that men being driven to neede and necessitie, doe frame them selves to eate all that comes to hande: whereupon he was driven to bring backe those few men that remained, having lost of all sortes (good and bad) not so fewe as eight thowsand fully told. When he came into the province of TARSVS, he commaunded his men in no case to meddle with any thing, because the contrie was subject unto king *Seleucus*, whom he would in no wise displease. But when he sawe it was impossible to stay his men being now brought to such extremitie and neede, and that *Agathocles* had bard up the straights and passages of mount Taurus against him: he wrote a letter unto *Seleucus*, first declaring his miserable state and hard fortune, and then presenting his humble petition and request unto him, praying him to take pitie upon his frend, wnom spitefull fortune had throwen into such miserie and calamitie, that coulde not but move his greateſt enemies to have compassion of him. These letters somewhat softened *Seleucus* hart, inso-muche that he wrote to his Governors and Lieutenauntes of those partes, to furnish Demetrius person with all thinges needefull for a Princes house, and vittells sufficient to maintaine his men. But one *Patrocles*, a grave wise man accounted, and *Seleucus* faithfull frend also, came to tell him, that the charge to entertaine Demetrius souldiers, was not the greateſt fault he made therin, and most to be accompted of: but that he did not wisely looke into his affaires, to suffer Demetrius to remaine in his contry, considering that he had alway bene a more fierce and venturous Prince then any other, to enterprise any matters of great importaunce, and nowe he was brought to such

*Plague, by ill
meate.*

*Demetrius
famine.*

*Patrocles
ſtirreth up
Seleucus
againſt
Demetrius.*

dispaire & extremitie, that he had framed his men which were but ranke cowardes (contrarie to their nature) to be most desperat and hardie in greatest daungers. *Seleucus* being moved with these perswasions, presently tooke his journey into CILICIA with a great armie. *Demetrius* being astonied with this sodaine chaunge, & dreading so great an armie, got him to the strongest places of mount Taurus. Then he sent unto *Seleucus*, first of all to pray him to suffer him to conquer certaine barbarous people thereabouts, who lived according to their owne lawes, and never had king: to thend that he might yet there with safetie end the rest of his life and exile, staying at length in some place where he might be safe. Secondly if that liked him not, then that it woulde yet please him to vit-tell his men for the winter time onely, in the same place where they were, and not to be so hard harted unto him as to drive him thence, lacking all needefull things, and so to put him into the mouth of his most cruell and mortall enemies. But *Seleucus* mistrusting his demaundes, sent unto him that he shoulde winter if he thought good, two monethes, but no more, in the contrie of CATAONIA, so he gave him the chiefeſt of his frendes for ostages: howbeit in the meane time he stopped up all the wayes and passages going from thence into SYRIA. *Demetrius* nowe seeing him selfe kept in of all sides, like a beast to be taken in the toyle: he was driven to trust to his owne strength. Thereuppon he overranne the contry thereabouts, and as often as it was his chaunce to have any skirmish or conflict with *Seleucus*, he had ever the better of him: and sometime also when they drave the armed cartes with sithes against him, he overcame them, and put the rest to flight. Then he drave them away that kept the toppe of the mountaines, and had barred the passages to kepe him that he should not goe into SYRIA, and so kept them him selfe. In fine, finding his mens hartes lift up againe, and

pretily encouraged: his hart also grewe so bigge, that he determined to fight a battell with *Seleucus*, and to set all at sixe and seven. So that *Seleucus* was at a straight with him selfe, and wist not what to doe. For he had returned backe the ayde which *Lysimachus* sent unto him, bicause he was affrayed of him, and mistrusted him. On thother side also he durst not fight with *Demetrius* alone, being affrayed to venter him selfe with a desperate man: and also mistrusting muche his unconstant fortune, the which having brought him to great extremitie, raised him up againe to great prosperitie. But in the meane space *Demetrius* fell into a great sickennesse, the which brought his bodie very weake and low, and had almost utterly overthrowen his affaires. For his souldiers, some of them yeelded them selves to his enemies, and others stalle away without leave, and went where they listed. Afterwardes when he had hardly recovered his health, and within forty dayes space was pretily growen to strength againe: with those few souldiers that remained with him, he seemed to his enemies, that he would goe and invade CILICIA. But then sodainly in the night without sowing any trumpet, he removed his campe, and went another way: and having passed over mount Amanus, he spoyled all the contry under it, as farre as the region of CYRRESTICA. But *Seleucus* followed him, and camped hard by him. Thereuppon *Demetrius* sodainly armed his men, and went out by night to assault *Seleucus*, and to take him sleping when he mistrusted nothing. So that *Seleucus* knew nothing of his stealing on him but late enough, until that certaine traitors of *Demetrius* campe that fled before, went quickly to advertise him finding him asleepe, and brought him newes of the daunger he was in. Then *Seleucus* in a mase and feare withall, got up, and sowned the alarom: and as he was putting on his hose and making him ready he cryed out, (speaking to

Desperate men are not to be fought with.

Amanus mons.

Demetrius despairing of his good successe: attempteth to assault Seleucus by night.

*Demetrius
army for-
sooke him,
and yelded
them selves to
Seleucus.
Demetrius
flyeth from
Seleucus.*

his friends & familiers about him) we have now a cruell and daungerous beast to deale with. *Demetrius* on the other side perceiving by the great sturre and noyse he heard in the enemies campe, that his enterprise was discovered: he retyred againe with speede, and the next morning by breake of day, *Seleucus* went and offred him battell. *Demetrius* prepared him selfe to joyne with him, and having given one of his faithfull friendes the leading of one of the wings of his armie, him selfe led the other, and overthrew some of his enemies on his side. But *Seleucus* in the middest of the battell lighted from his horse, and taking his helmet from his head, he tooke a target on his arme, and went to the first ranckes of his armie, to make him selfe knowne unto *Demetrius* men: perswading them to yeeld them selves unto him, and to acknowledge in the end, that he had so long time deferred to give them battell, rather to save them, then to spare *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* souldiers hearing him say so, they did him humble reverence, & acknowledging him for their king, they all yeelded unto him. *Demetrius* having sundry times before proved so many chaunges and overthrowes of fortune, thinking yet to scape this last also, and to passe it over: he fled unto the gates Amanides, which are certaine straights of the mount Amanus. There he founde certaine litle thicke groves, where he determined to stay all night with certaine gentlemen of his house, and a fewe other of his houshold servaunts and officers which had followed him: meaning, if he could possible, to take his way towards the citie of CAVNVS, to goe to that sea coast, hoping to heare of his shippes there. But when it was tolde him he had no vittells nor provision left onely to serve him that day: he began then to devise some other way. At length, one of his famillier friends *Sosigenes* came unto him, that had foure hundred peeces of golde about him in his girdell. So hoping that with the same

money he might flie to the sea, they tooke their way by night directly, to the toppe of the mountaine. But when they perceived that the enemies kept watch there, and that there were great store of fires hard by them: they then dispaired to passe any further, least they should be seene. So they returned to the selfe same place from whence they came, not all of them, for some of them fled: neither had they that remayned also any life in them as before. So, one among the rest tooke upon him, to say, that there was no other way to scape, but to put *Demetrius* into *Seleucus* hands. *Demetrius* therewithall drew out his sword, and would have slaine him selfe: but his friends about him would not suffer him, but perswaded him to yeld him selfe unto *Seleucus*. Thereuppon he sent *Demetrius* unto *Seleucus*, to tell him that he yelded him selfe unto him. *Seleucus* was so joyfull of the newes, that he sayd it was not *Demetrius* good fortune that saved him, but his owne: who besides many other happy good turnes she had done him, gave him yet so honorable occasion and good happe, as to make the world to knowe his clemencie and curtesie. Thereuppon immediatly he called for his officers of houshold, and commaunded them to set up his richest pavilion, and to prepare all thinges meete to receive him honorably. There was one *Apollonides* a gentleman in *Seleucus* Court, who sometime had bene very famillier with *Demetrius*: Him *Seleucus* sent immediatly unto *Demetrius*, to will him to be of good chere, and not to be affrayd to come to the king his Maister, for he should find him his very good friend. So soone as the kings pleasure was knowen, a few of his Courtiers went at the first to meete him: but afterwards, every man strived who should goe meete him first, bicause they were all in hope that he should presently be much made of, and growe in credit with *Seleucus*. But hereby they turned *Seleucus* pitie into envie, and gave occasion also to *Deme-*

*Demetrius
kept as pris-
oner in Syria,
by Seleucus.*

trius enemies & spitefull men, to turne the kings bowntifull good nature from him. For they put into his head many doubts & daungers, saying, that certainly so soone as the souldiers sawe him, there would grow great sturre and chaunge in their campe. And therefore, shortly after that *Apollonides* was come unto *Demetrius*, being glad to bringe him these good newes, and as others also followed him one after another, bringing him some good words from *Seleucus*, and that *Demetrius* him self after so great an overthrow (although that before he thought it a shamefull part of him to have yeelded his body into his enemies hands) chaunged his mind at that time, and began then to grow bold, and to have good hope to recover his state againe: behold, there came one of *Seleucus* Captaines called *Pausanias*, accompanied with a thowsand footemen and horsemen in all, who compassed in *Demetrius* with them, and made the rest depart that were come unto him before, having charge given him not to bring him to the Court, but to convey him into *CHERRONESVS* of *SYRIA*, whether he was brought, and ever after had a strong garrison about him to keepe him. But otherwise, *Seleucus* sent him Officers, money, and all things els meete for a Princes house: and his ordinary fare was so delicate, that he could wishe for no more then he had. And furthermore, he had places of libertie and pleasure appointed him, both to ride his horse in, and also pleasaunt walkes, and goodly arbors to walke or sit in, and fine parkes full of beasts where he might hunt: moreover, the king suffered his owne houshold servaunts that followed him when he fled, to remaine with him if they would. And furthermore, there daily came some one or other unto him from *Seleucus*, to comfort him, and to put him in hope, that so soone as *Antiochus* & *Stratonice* were come, they would make some good agreement and peace betwene them. *Demetrius* remaining in this estate, wrote

unto his sonne *Antigonus*, and to his friends & Lieutenants which he had at CORINTHE, and ATHENS, that they should give no credit to any letters written in his name, though his seale were to them: but that they should keepe the townes they had in charge for his sonne *Antigonus*, and all the rest of his forces, as if he him selfe were dead.

When *Antigonus* heard the pitifull captivtie of his father, he marvelous greevously tooke his hard fortune, wearing blackes for sorrow, and wrote unto all the other kings, but unto *Seleucus* specially, beseeching him to take him as a pledge for his father, and that he was ready to yeld up al that he kept, to have his fathers libertie. The like request did many cities make unto him, and in manner all Princes, but *Lysimachus*: who promised *Seleucus* a great summe of money to put *Demetrius* to death. But *Seleucus*, who of long time had no great fancie to *Lysimachus*, but rather utterly despised him: did then thinke him the more cruell and barbarous, for this vile and wicked request he made unto him. Wherefore he still delayed time, bicause he would have *Demetrius* delivered by his sonne *Antiochus* and *Stratonices* meanes, for that *Demetrius* should be bownd to them for his deliverie, and for ever should acknowledge it to them. Now for *Demetrius*, as he from the beginning patiently tooke his hard fortune, so did he daily more and more forget the miserie he was in. For first of al, he gave him selfe to riding and hunting, as farre as the place gave him libertie. Then by litle and litle he grew to be very grosse, and to give over such pastimes, and therewithall he fell into dronkennes and dycing: so that in that sort he passed away the most part of his time, as it should seeme, either to avoid the grevous thoughts of his hard fortune, which came into his mind when he was sober: or els under culler of dronkennes and eating, to shadow the thoughts he had: or els finding in him selfe that it was that manner of

*The naturall
love of Anti-
gonus, to his
father Dem-
etrius.*

*Demetrius
turned his
captivtie in-
to pleasure.*

life he had long desired, and that through his vaine ambition and follie till that time he could never attayne unto, greatly turmoyling and troubling him selfe and others, supposing to find in warres, by sea and land, the felicitie and delight which he had found in ease and idleness, when he nether thought of it, nor looked for it. For what better ende can euill & unadvised kings & Princes looke for, of all their troubles, daungers, and warres? who in deede deceive them selves greatly, not onely for that they followe their pleasure and delights as their chiefest felicitie, in steede of vertue and honest life: but also, bicause that in truth they can not be mery, and take their pleasure as they would. So, *Demetrius* after he had bene shut up in *CHERRONESVS* three yeares together, by ease, grossenes, and dronkennes, fell sicke of a disease whereof he dyed, when he was foure and fiftie yeare old. Therefore was *Seleucus* greatly blamed, and he him selfe also did much repent him that he so suspected him as he did, and that he followed not *Dromichetes* curtesie, a barbarous man borne in *THRACIA*, who had so royally and curteously intreated *Lysimachus*, whom he had taken prisoner in the warres. But yet there was some tragicall pompe in the order of his funerall. For his sonne *Antigonus* understanding that they brought him the ashes of his bodie, he tooke sea with all his shippes, and went to meete them, to receive them in the Isles: and when he had received them, he set up the funerall pot of golde (in the which were his embers) uppon the poope of his Admirall galley. So, all the cities and townes whereby they passed, or harbored, some of them did put garlands of flowers about the pot, others also sent a number of men thether in mourning apparell, to accompany and honor the conuoye, to the very solemnitie of his funeralls. In this sort sayled all the whole fleete towards the citie of *CORINTHE*, the pot being plainely seene farre off, standing on the toppe of the Admirall galley: all the place a-

*The death of
Demetrius in
Cherronesus.*

*The funeralls
of Demetrius*

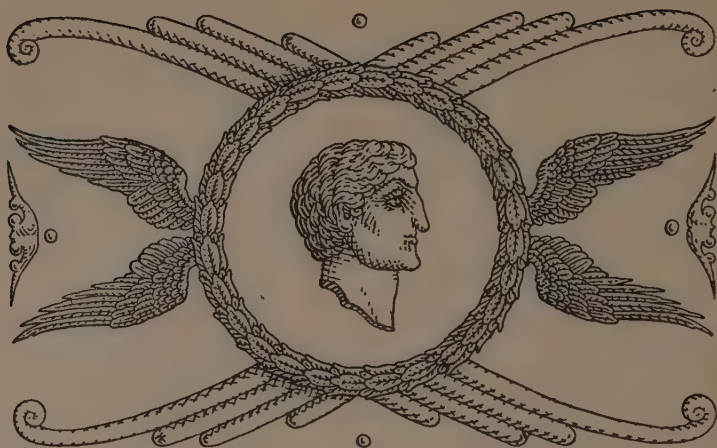
bout it being hanged about with purple, and over it, the diademe or royall band, and about it also were goodly younge men armed, which were as Pensioners to *Demetrius*. Furthermore, *Xenophantus* the famousest Musition in that time, being set hard by it, played a sweete and lamentable songe on the flute, wherewithall the ores keeping stroke and measure, the sownd did meete with a gallant grace, as in a convoyé where the mourners doe knocke their breastes, at the foote of every verse. But that which most made the people of CORINTHE to weepe and lament, which ranne to the peere, and all alongest the shore side to see it: was *Antigonus*, whom they sawe all beblubbored with teares, apparrelled as a mourner in blackes. Nowe, after they had brought a wonderfull number of garlands and nosegayes, and cast them uppon the funerall pot, and had solemnized all the honors possible for the funeralls at CORINTHE: *Antigonus* caried away the pot to burye it in the citie of DEMETRIADE, the which bare the name of *Demetrius* that was deade, and was a newe citie, that had bene replenished with people, and built of litle townes which are about IOLCOS. *Demetrius* left two children by his first wife *Phila*, to wete, *Antigonus*, and *Stratonice*: and two other sonnes, both of them named *Demetrius*, the one surnamed the leane, of a woman of ILLYRIA, and the other king of the CYRENIANS, of his wife *Ptolemaide*: & another by *Deidamia* called *Alexander*, who lived in ÆGYPT. And it is reported also, that he had another sonne called *Corrhæbus*, by his wife *Eurydice*, and that his posteritie raigned by succession from the father to the sonne, until the time of *Perseus*: who was the last king of MACEDON, whome the ROMANES overcame by *Paulus Æmylius*, and wanne all the Realme of MACEDON unto the Empire of ROME. Now that the MACEDONIAN hath played his part, give the ROMANE also leave to come uppon the stage.

Xenophantus a famous musition.

Demetrius posteritie.

Perseus king of Macedon, (the last king of Macedon) came of the posteritie of Demetrius.

The end of the life of Demetrius.



THE LIFE OF Marcus Antonius

*Antonius
parentage.*

** Because
that by his
death he end-
ed the warre
which he un-
fortunately
made against
those of
Creta.*

*The liberal-
itie of Ant-
onius father.*

ANTONIVS grandfather was that famous Orator whome *Marius* slue, bicause he tooke *Syllaes* parte. His father was an other *Antonius* surnamed **Cretan*, who was not so famous, nor bare any great sway in the common wealth: howbeit otherwise he was an honest man, & of a very good nature, & specially very liberal all in giving, as appeareth by an acte he did. He was not very wealthie, and therefore his wife would not let him use his liberalitie & francke nature. One day a friend of his comming to him to praye him to helpe him to some money, having great neede: *Antonius* by chaunce had no money to give him, but he commaunded one of his men to bringe him some water in a silver basen, and after he had brought it him, he washed his beard as though he ment

to have shaven it, and then found an arrant for his man to send him out, and gave his friend the silver basen, and bad him get him money with that. Shortly after, there was a great sturre in the house among the servaunts, seeking out this silver basen. Insomuch as *Antonius* seeing his wife marvelously offended for it, and that she would examine all her servaunts, one after another about it, to know what was become of it: at length he confessed he had given it away, and prayed her to be contented. His wife was *Julia*, of the noble house and familie of *Julia the Julius Caesar*: who for her vertue and chastitie, was to be mother of *M. Antonius*. compared with the noblest Lady of her time. *M. Antonius* was brought up under her, being married after her first husbands death, unto *Cornelius Lentulus*, whom *Cicero* put to death with *Cethegus*, and others, for that he was of *Catilines* conspiracie against the common wealth. And this seemeth to be the originall cause and beginning of the cruell and mortall hate *Antonius* bare unto *Cicero*. For *Antonius* selfe sayth, that he would never give him the body of his father in law to bury him, before his mother went first to intreat *Ciceroes* wife: the which undoubtedly was a flat lye. For *Cicero* denied buriall to none of them, whom he executed by law. Now *Antonius* being a fayer younge man, and in the pryme of his youth: he fell acquainted with *Curio*, whose friendship and acquaintance *Antonius* (as it is reported) was a plague unto him. For he was a corrupted by *Curio*. dissolute man, given over to all lust and insolencie, who to have *Antonius* the better at his commaundement, trayned him on into great follies, and vaine expences upon women, in rioting and banketing. So that in short time, he brought *Antonius* into a marvelous great det, and too great for one of his yeres, to wete: of two hundred and fifty talents, for all which summe *Curio* was his suertie. His father hearing of it, did put his sonne from him, and forbad him his house. Then he fell in with *Clodius*, one

*Antonius
used in his
pleading the
Asiatik
phrase.*

*Antonius
had charge of
horsemen,
under Gabi-
nius Procon-
sul, going into
Syria.*

*Antonius
acts against
Aristobulus.
Antonius
tooke Ari-
stobulus pri-
soner.*

of the desperateſt and moſt wicked Tribunes at that time in ROME. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great ſturre and miſchiefe in ROME: but at length he forſooke him, being weary of his rafhnes and folly, or els for that he was affraid of them that were bent againſt *Clodius*. Thereuppon he left ITALY, and went into GRÆCE, and there beſtowed the moſt parte of his tyme, ſometime in warres, and otherwhile in the ſtudie of eloquence. He used a manner of phrase in his ſpeeche, called *Asiatik*, which caried the beſt grace and eſtimation at that time, and was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of oſtentation, fooliſhe braverie, and vaine ambition. After he had remayned there ſome tyme, *Gabinus* Proconſul going into SYRIA, perswaded him to goe with him. *Antonius* tolde him he would not goe as a private man: Wherefore *Gabinus* gave him charge of his horſemen, and ſo tooke him with him. So, firſt of all he ſent him againſt *Aristobulus*, who had made the IEWES to rebell, and was the firſt man him ſelfe that got up to the wall of a caſtell of his, and ſo drave *Aristobulus* out of all his holds: and with thoſe few men he had with him, he overcame al the IEWES in ſet battel, which were many againſt one, and put all of them almoſt to the ſword, and furthermore, tooke *Aristobulus* him ſelfe priſoner with his ſonne. Afterwards *Ptolomy* king of ÆGYPT, that had bene driven out of his contry, went unto *Gabinus* to intreate him to goe with his armie with him into ÆGYPT, to put him againe into his kingdom: and promiſed him if he would goe with him, tenne thowsand talents. The moſt part of the Captaines thought it not beſt to goe thither, and *Gabinus* him ſelfe made it daintie to enter into this warre: although the covetouſnes of theſe tenne thowsand talents ſtucke ſorely with him. But *Antonius* that ſought but for oportunitie and good occaſion to attempt great enterpriſes, and that de-

sired also to gratifie *Ptolomyes* request: he went about to perswade *Gabinus* to goe this voyage. Now they were more affrayd of the way they should goe, to come to the citie of PELVSIVM, then they feared any daunger of the warre besides: bicause they were to passe through deepe sandes and desert places, where was no freshe water to be had all the marisses thorough, which are called the marisses Serbonides, which the ÆGYPTIANS call the exhalations or fume, by the which the Gyant *Typhon* breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the overflowing of the red sea, which breaketh out under the ground in that place, where it is devided in the narrowest place from the sea on this side. So *Antonius* was sent before into ÆGYPT with his horsemen, who did not onely winne that passage, but also tooke the citie of PELVSIVM, (which is a great citie) with all the souldiers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it safe for all the rest of the armie, and the hope of the victorie also certaine for his Captaine. Nowe did the enemies them selves feelee the frutes of *Antonius* curtesie, and the desire he had to winne honor. For when *Ptolomy* (after he had entred into the citie of PELVSIVM) for the malice he bare unto the citie, would have put all the ÆGYPTIANS in it to the sword: *Antonius* withstoode him, and by no meanes would suffer him to doe it. And in all other great battells & skirmishes which they fought, and were many in number, *Antonius* did many noble actes of a valliant and wise Captaine: but specially in one battell, where he compassed in the enemies behind, giving them the victorie that fought against them, whereby he afterwards had such honorable reward, as his valliantnes deserved. So was his great curtesie also much commended of all, the which he shewed unto *Archelaus*. For having bene his very friend, he made warre with him against his will while he lived: but after his death he sought for his bodye, & gave it honor-

*Antonius
acts in Æ-
gypt under
Gabinus.*

*Antonius
curtesie unto
Archelaus
being dead.*

*Antonius
shape and
presence.*

*The house of
the Antonii
discended
from Her-
cules.*

*Antonius
liberalitie.*

able buriall. For these respects he wanne him selfe great fame of them of ALEXANDRIA, and he was also thought a worthy man of all the souldiers in the ROMANES campe. But besides all this, he had a noble presence, and shewed a countenance of one of a noble house: he had a goodly thicke beard, a broad forehead, crooke nosed, and there appeared such a manly looke in his countenance, as is commonly seene in *Hercules* pictures, stamped or graven in mettell. Now it had bene a speeche of old time, that the familie of the *Antonii*, were discended from one *Anton*, the sonne of *Hercules*, whereof the familie tooke name. This opinion did *Antonius* seeke to confirme in all his doings: not onely resembling him in the likenes of his bodye, as we have sayd before, but also in the wearing of his garments. For when he would openly shewe him selfe abroad before many people, he would alwayes weare his cassocke gyrt downe lowe upon his hippes, with a great sword hanging by his side, and upon that, some ill favored cloke. Furthermore, things that seeme intollerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to jeast with one or other, to drinke like a good fellow with every body, to sit with the souldiers when they dine, and to eate and drinke with them souldierlike: it is incredible what wonderfull love it wanne him amongst them. And furthermore, being given to love: that made him the more desired, and by that meanes he brought many to love him. For he would further every mans love, and also would not be angry that men should merily tell him of those he loved. But besides all this, that which most procured his rising and advauncement, was his liberalitie, who gave all to the souldiers, and kept nothing for him selfe: and when he was growen to great credit, then was his authoritie and power also very great, the which notwithstanding him selfe did overthrowe by a thowsand other faults he had. In this place I will shewe you one example onely of

his wonderful liberalitie. He commaunded one day his coferer that kept his money, to give a friend of his 25. Myriades: which the ROMANES call in their tongue, Decies. His coferer marveling at it, and being angry withall in his minde, brought him all this money in a heape together, to shewe him what a marvelous masse of money it was. *Antonius* seeing it as he went by, asked what it was: his coferer aunswered him, it was the money he willed him to give unto his friend. Then *Antonius* perceiving the spight of his man, I thought, sayd he, that Decies had bene a greater summe of money then it is, for this is but a trifle: & therefore he gave his friend as much more another tyme, but that was afterwarde. Nowe the ROMANES mainteyning two factions at ROME at that tyme, one against the other, of the which, they that tooke part with the Senate, did joyne with *Pompey* being then in ROME: & the contrary side taking part with the people, sent for *Cæsar* to ayde them, who made warres in GAVLE. Then *Curio Antonius* friend, that had chaunged his garments, and at that tyme tooke parte with *Cæsar*, whose enemye he had bene before: he wanne *Antonius*, and so handled the matter, partly through the great credit and swaye he bare amongst the people, by reason of his eloquent tongue: and partly also by his exceeding expence of money he made which *Cæsar* gave him: that *Antonius* was chosen Tribune, & afterwards made Augure. But this was a great helpe and furtheraunce to *Cæsar*s practises. For so soone as *Antonius* became Tribune he did oppose him selfe against those thinges which the Consul *Marcellus* preferred: (who ordeyned that certaine legions which had bene already leavied and billed, should be given unto *Cneus Pompey*, with further commission and authoritie to leavye others unto them) and set downe an order, that the souldiers which were already leavied and assembled, should be sent into SYRIA,

Antonius
Tribune of
the people,
and Augure.

*Antonius
acts for
Cæsar.*

for a newe supplie unto *Marcus Bibulus*, who made warre at that tyme against the PARTHIANS. And furthermore, prohibition that *Pompey* should leavy no more men, and also that the souldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where *Pompeys* friends and followers would not suffer *Cæsars* letters to be received, and openly red in the Senate: *Antonius* having power and warrant by his person, through the holines of his tribuneship, did read them openly, and made divers men chaunge their mindes: for it appeared to them that *Cæsar* by his letters required no unreasonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of consideracion unto the Senate, whether they thought good that *Pompey*, or *Cæsar*, should leave their armie: there were few of the Senators that thought it meete *Pompey* should leave his armie, but they all in manner commaunded *Cæsar* to doe it. Then *Antonius* rising up, asked whether they thought it good that *Pompey* & *Cæsar* both, should leave their armies. Thereunto all the Senators joyntly together gave their whole consent, and with a great crye commending *Antonius*, they prayed him to referre it to the judgement of the Senate. But the Consuls would not allowe of that. Therefore *Cæsars* friendes preferred other reasonable demaunds and requests againe, but *Cato* spake against them: and *Lentulus*, one of the Consuls drave *Antonius* by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made grevous curses against him. After that, he tooke a slaves gowne, and speedily fled to *Cæsar*, with *Quintus Cassius*, in a hyered coch. When they came to *Cæsar*, they cryed out with open mouth, that all went hand over head at ROME: for the Tribunes of the people might not speake their mindes, and were driven away in great daunger of their lives, as many as stooode with lawe and justice. Hereuppon *Cæsar* incontinently went into ITALY with his army, which made *Cicero* say in his *Philippides*: that as *Hellen* was

*Antonius
flyeth from
Rome unto
Cæsar.*

cause of the warre of TROY, so was *Antonius* the author of the civill warres, which in deede was a starke lye. For *Cæsar* was not so fickle headed, nor so easily caried away with anger, that he would so sodainly have gone and made warre with his contry, upon the sight onely of *Antonius* and *Cassius*, being fled unto him in miserable apparell, and in a hyered coche: had he not long before determined it with him selfe. But sith in deed *Cæsar* looked of long time but for some culler, this came as he wished, and gave him just occasion of warre. But to say truely, nothing els moved him to make warre with all the world as he did, but one selfe cause, which first procured *Alexander* and *Cyrus* also before him: to wit, an insatiable desire to raigne, with a senseles covetousnes to be the best man in the world, the which he could not come unto, before he had first put downe *Pompey*, and utterly overthrowen him. Now, after that *Cæsar* had gotten ROME at his commaundement, and had driven *Pompey* out of ITALY, he purposed first to goe into SPAYNE, against the legions *Pompey* had there: and in the meane time to make provision for shippes and marine preparacion, to follow *Pompey*. In his absence, he left *Lepidus* that was Prætor, governor of ROME: and *Antonius* that was Tribune, he gave him charge of all the souldiers, and of ITALY. Then was *Antonius* straight marvelously commended and beloved of the souldiers, bicause he commonly exercised him self among them, and would oftentimes eate and drinke with them, and also be liberall unto them, according to his abilitie. But then in contrary manner, he purchased divers other mens evill willes, bicause that through negligence he would not doe them justice that were injured, and delt very churlishly with them that had any sute unto him: and besides all this, he had an ill name to intise mens wives. To conclude, *Cæsars* friends that governed under him, were cause why they hated *Cæsars*

*Cicero re-
proved for
lying.*

*Alexander,
Cyrus, and
Cæsar: all
contended to
raigne.*

*Cæsars am-
bition the
onely cause
of the civill
warre.*

*Cæsar gave
the charge of
Italy unto
Antonius.*

*Antonius
vices.*

government (which in deede in respect of him selfe was no lesse then a tyrannie) by reason of the great insolencies and outrageous parts that were committed: amongst whom *Antonius*, that was of greatest power, and that also committed greatest faultes, deserved most blame. But *Cæsar* notwithstanding, when he returned from the warres of SPAYNE, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put up against him: but contrarily, because he found him a hardy man, and a valliant Captaine, he employed him in his chiefeſt affayres, and was no whit deceived in his opinion of him. So he passed over the IONIAN sea unto BRVNDVSIVM, being but slenderly accompanied: and sent unto *Antonius*, and *Gabinus*, that they should imbarke their men as soone as they could, and passe them over into MACEDON. *Gabinus* was affrayd to take the sea, because it was very roughe, and in the winter time: and therefore fetched a great compasse about by land. But *Antonius* fearing some daunger might come unto *Cæsar*, because he was compassed in with a great number of enemies: first of all he drave away *Libo*, who roade at ancker with a great armie, before the haven of BRVNDVSIVM. For he manned out such a number of pynnasies, barks, and other small boates about every one of his gallies, that he drave him thence. After that, he imbarked into shippes twenty thowsand footemen, and eyght hundred horsemen, and with this armie he hoysed sayle. When the enemies sawe him, they made out to followe him: but the sea rose so highe, that the billowes put backe their gallies that they could not come neare him, and so he scaped that daunger. But withall he fell uppon the rockes with his whole fleete, where the sea wrought very highe: so that he was out of all hope to save him selfe. Yet by good fortune, sodainely the winde turned Southwest, and blewe from the gulfte, driving the waves of the river into the mayne sea. Thus *Antonius* loosing

*Antonius
taketh sea
with his army
at Brundus-
ium, and go-
eth unto
Cæsar.*

from the lande, and sayling with safetie at his pleasure, soone after he sawe all the coastes full of shippewracks. For the force and boysterousnes of the winde, did cast away the gallies that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and splitted, and divers also cast away, & *Antonius* tooke a great number of them prisoners, with a great summe of money also. Besides all these, he tooke the citie of *Lyssvs*, and brought *Cæsar* a great supplie of men, and made him coragious, comming at a pynche with so great a power to him. Now there were divers hotte skyrmisses and encownters, in the which *Antonius* fought so valliantly, that he caried the prayse from them all: but specially at two severall tymes, when *Cæsars* men turned their backes, and fled for life. For he stepped before them, and compelled them to returne againe to fight: so that the victorie fell on *Cæsars* side. For this cause he had the seconde place in the campe amonge the souldiers, and they spake of no other man unto *Cæsar*, but of him: who shewed playnely what opinion he had of him, when at the last battell of *PHARSALIA* (which in deede was the last tryall of all, to give the Conqueror the whole Empire of the worlde) he him selfe did leade the right wing of his armie, and gave *Antonius* the leading of the left wing, as the valliantest man, and skilfullest souldier of all those he had about him. After *Cæsar* had wonne the victorie, and that he was created Dictator, he followed *Pompey* steppe by steppe: howbeit before, he named *Antonius* generall of the horsemen, and sent him to *ROME*. The generall of the horsemen is the second office of dignitie, when the Dictator is in the citie: but when he is abroad, he is the chiefeest man, and almost the onely man that remayneth, and all the other officers and Magistrates are put downe, after there is a Dictator chosen. Notwithstanding, *Dolabella* being at that tyme Tribune, and a younge man desirous of chaunge and innov-

Antonius
manhood in
warres.

Antonius led
the left wing
of *Cæsars*
battell at
Pharsalia
where *Pompey*
lost the
field.
The dignitie
of the general
of the horse-
men.

*Dissention
betwixt An-
tonius and
Dolabella.*

*Antonius
abominable
life.*

ation: he preferred a law which the ROMANES call *Novas tabulas* (as much to saye, as a cutting of and cancelling of all obligacions and specialties, and were called the newe tables, bicause they were driven then to make bookes of daily receit and expense) and perswaded *Antonius* his friend (who also gaped for a good occasion to please and gratifie the common people) to aide him to passe this lawe. But *Trebellius* and *Asinius* dissuaded from it al they could possible. So by good hap it chaunced that *Antonius* mistrusted *Dolabella* for keeping of his wife, and tooke suche a conceite of it, that he thrust his wife out of his house being his Cosin Germane, and the daughter of *C. Antonius*, who was Consul with *Cicero*: and joyning with *Asinius*, he resisted *Dolabella*, & fought with him. *Dolabella* had gotten the market place where the people doe assemble in counsel, and had filled it ful of armed men, intending to have this law of the newe tables to passe by force. *Antonius* by commaundement of the Senate, who had given him authoritie to leavy men, to use force against *Dolabella*: he went against him, and fought so valiantly, that men were slaine on both sides. But by this meanes, he got the il will of the common people, and on the other side, the noble men (as *Cicero* saith) did not only mislike him, but also hate him for his naughty life: for they did abhor his banckets and dronken feasts he made at unseasonable times, and his extreme wastful expences upon vaine light huswives, and then in the day time he would sleepe or walke out his dronkennes, thinking to weare away the fume of the aboundaunce of wine which he had taken over night. In his house they did nothing but feast, daunce, and maske: and him selfe passed away the time in hearing of foolish playes, or in marrying these plaiers, tombler, jeasters, and such sort of people. As for profe hereof it is reported, that at *Hippias* mariage, one of his jeasters, he drank wine so lustely all

night, that the next morning when he came to pleade before the people assembled in counsel, who had sent for him: he being quesie stomaked with his surfet he had taken, was compelled to lay all before them, and one of his friends held him his gowne in stead of a basen. He had another pleasaunt player called *Sergius*, that was one of the chiefest men about him, and a woman also called *Cytheride*, of the same profession, whom he loved derely: he caried her up and downe in a litter unto all the townes he went, and had as many men waiting apon her litter, she being but a player, as were attending upon his owne mother. It greved honest men also very much, to see that when he went into the contry, he caried with him a great number of cubbords ful of silver and gold plate, openly in the face of the world, as it had ben the pompe or shewe of some triumphe: and that eftsoones in the middest of his jorney he would set up his haies and tents hard by some greene grove or pleasaunt river, & there his Cookes should prepare him a sumptuous dinner. And furthermore, Lyons were harnesed in trases to drawe his carts: & besides also, in honest mens houses in the cities where he came, he would have common harlots, curtisans, and these tumbling gillots lodged. Now it greved men much, to see that *Cæsar* should be out of ITALY following of his enemies, to end this great warre, with such great perill and daunger: and that others in the meane time abusing his name and authoritie, should commit such insolent and outragious parts unto their Citizens. This me thinkes was the cause that made the conspiracie against *Cæsar* increase more and more, and layed the reynes of the brydle upon the souldiers neckes, whereby they durst boldier commit many extorsions, cruelties and robberies. And therefore *Cæsar* after his returne pardoned *Dolabella*, and being created Consul the third time, he tooke not *Antonius*, but chose *Lepidus*, his colleague and fellow Consul.

*Antonius
laid up his
stomack be-
fore the whole
assembly.*

*Antonius
insolency.*

*Cæsar, and
Lepidus,
Consuls.*

*Antonius
byeth
Pompeys
house.*

Afterwards when *Pompeys* house was put to open sale, *Antonius* bought it: but when they asked him money for it, he made it very straung, and was offended with them, and writeth him selfe that he would not goe with *Cæsar* into the warres of AFRICK, bicause he was not well recompenced for the service he had done him before. Yet *Cæsar* did somewhat bridle his madnes and insolencie, not suffering him to passe his faulte so lightly away, making as though he sawe them not. And therefore he left his dissolute manner of life, and married *Fulvia* that was *Clodius* widowe, a woman not so basely minded to spend her time in spinning and housewivery, and was not contented to master her husband at home, but would also rule him in his office abroad, and commaund him, that commaunded legions and great armies: so that *Cleopatra* was to give *Fulvia* thankses for that she had taught *Antonius* this obedience to women, that learned so well to beat their commaundement. Nowe, bicause *Fulvia* was somewhat sower, and crooked of condition, *Antonius* devised to make her pleasaunter, and somewhat better disposed: and therefore he would playe her many prety youthfull partes to make her mery. As he did once, when *Cæsar* returned the last time of all Conqueror out of SPAYNE, every man went out to meete him: and so did *Antonius* with the rest. But on the sodeine there ranne a rumor through ITALY, that *Cæsar* was dead, and that his enemies came againe with a great armie. Thereuppon he returned with speede to ROME, and tooke one of his mens gownes, and so apparelled came home to his house in a darke night, saying that he had brought *Fulvia* letters from *Antonius*. So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as he was, for being knowen: but she taking the matter heavily, asked him if *Antonius* were well. *Antonius* gave her the letters, and sayd never a word. So when she had opened the letters, and beganne to read them: *An-*

*Antonius
married Ful-
via, Clodius
widow.
Fulvia ruled
Antonius, at
home, and
abroad.*

tonius ramped of her necke, and kissed her. We have told you this tale for examples sake onely, and so could we also tell you of many such like as these. Nowe when *Cæsar* was returned from his last warre in SPAYNE, all the chieftest nobilitie of the citie road many dayes journey from ROME to meete him, where *Cæsar* made marvelous much of *Antonius*, above all the men that came unto him. For he alwayes tooke him into his coche with him, through out all ITALY: and behind him, *Brutus Albinus*, and *Octavius*, the sonne of his Nece, who afterwards was called *Cæsar*, and became Emperor of ROME long time after. So *Cæsar* being afterwards chosen Consul the fift time, *Cæsar, and Antonius, Consuls.* he immediatly chose *Antonius* his colleague and companion: and desired by deposing him selfe of his Consulship, to make *Dolabella* Consul in his roome, and had already moved it to the Senate. But *Antonius* did stowtly withstand it, and openly reviled *Dolabella* in the Senate: and *Dolabella* also spared him as litle. Thereuppon *Cæsar* being ashamed of the matter, he let it alone. Another time also when *Cæsar* attempted againe to substitute *Dolabella* Consul in his place, *Antonius* cryed out, that the signes of the birdes were against it: so that at length *Cæsar* was compelled to give him place, and to let *Dolabella* alone, who was marvelously offended with him. Now in truth, *Cæsar* made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that *Cæsar* aunswered one that did accuse *Antonius* and *Dolabella* unto him for some matter of conspiracie: tushe said he, they be not those fat fellowes and fine comed men that I feare, but I mistrust rather these pale and leane men, meaning by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Antonius unwittingly gave Cæsars enemies occasion to conspire against him.* who afterwards conspired his death, and slue him. *Antonius* unwares afterwards, gave *Cæsars* enemies just occasion and culler to doe as they did: as you shall heare. The ROMANES by chaunce celebrated the feast called Lupercalia, and *Cæsar* being apparelled in his triumph-

ing robe, was set in the Tribune where they use to make their orations to the people, and from thence did behold the sport of the runners. The manner of this running was this. On that day there are many young men of noble house, and those specially that be chiefe Officers for that yeare: who running naked up and downe the citie anointed with the oyle of olyve, for pleasure do strike them they meete in their way, with white leather thongs they have in their hands. *Antonius* being one amonge the rest that was to ronne, leaving the auncient ceremonies and old customes of that solemnitie: he ranne to the Tribune where *Cæsar* was set, and caried a laurell crowne in his hand, having a royall band or diademe wreathed about it, which in old time was the auncient marke and token of a king. When he was come to *Cæsar*, he made his fellow ronners with him lift him up, and so he did put this laurell crowne upon his head, signifying thereby that he had deserved to be king. But *Cæsar* making as though he refused it, turned away his head. The people were so rejoyced at it, that they all clapped their hands for joy. *Antonius* againe did put it on his head: *Cæsar* againe refused it, and thus they were striving of and on a great while together. As oft as *Antonius* did put this laurell crowne unto him, a fewe of his followers rejoyced at it: and as oft also as *Cæsar* refused it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderfull thing, that they suffered all things subjects should doe by commaundement of their kings: and yet they could not abide the name of a king, detesting it as the utter destruction of their liberty. *Cæsar* in a rage rose out of his seate, and plucking downe the choller of his gowne from his necke, he shewed it naked, bidding any man strike of his head that would. This laurel crowne was afterwards put upon the head of one of *Cæsars* statues or images, the which one of the Tribunes pluckt of. The people liked

*Antonius
Lupercian
putteth the
diademe up-
on Cæsars
head.*

his doing therein so well, that they wayted on him home to his house, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit *Cæsar* did turne them out of their offices for it. This was a good incoragement for *Brutus* and *Cassius* to conspire his death, who fel into a consort with their trustiest friends, to execute their enterprise: but yet stood doubtful whether they should make *Antonius* privy to it or not. Al the rest liked of it, saving *Trebonius* only. He told them, that when they rode to meete *Cæsar* at his returne out of SPAYNE, *Antonius* and he alwaies keping company, and lying together by the way, he felt his mind a farre of: but *Antonius* finding his meaning, would harken no more unto it, and yet notwithstanding never made *Cæsar* acquainted with this talke, but had faithfully kept it to him self. After that they consulted whether they should kill *Antonius* with *Cæsar*. But *Brutus* would in no wise consent to it, saying: that ventring on such an enterprise as that, for the maintenance of law and justice, it ought to be clere from all villanie. Yet they fearing *Antonius* power, and the authoritie of his office, appointed certain of the conspiracy, that when *Cæsar* were gone into the Senate, and while others should execute their enterprise, they should keepe *Antonius* in a talke out of the Senate house. Even as they had devised these matters, so were they executed: and *Cæsar* was slaine in the midst of the Senate. *Antonius* being put in a feare withall, cast a slaves gowne upon him, and hid him selfe. But afterwards when it was told him that the murtherers slue no man els, and that they went onely into the Capitoll: he sent his sonne unto them for a pledge, & bad them boldly come downe upon his word. The selfe same day he did bid *Cassius* to supper, and *Lepidus* also bad *Brutus*. The next morning the Senate was assembled, and *Antonius* him selfe preferred a lawe that all things past should be forgotten, and that they should appoint provinces, unto *Cassius* and

Brutus and Cassius conspire Cæsars death.

Consultation about the murther of Antonius with Cæsar.

Brutus: the which the Senate confirmed, and further ordeyned, that they should cancell none of *Cæsars* lawes. Thus went *Antonius* out of the Senate more praysed, and better esteemed, then ever man was: bicause it seemed to every man that he had cut of all occasion of civill warres, and that he had shewed him selfe a marvelous wise governor of the common wealth, for the appeasing of these matters of so great waight and importance. But nowe, the opinion he conceived of him selfe after he had a litle felt the good will of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make him selfe the chiefeſt man if he might overcome *Brutus*: did easily make him alter his first mind.

*Antonius maketh up-
rore among
the people,
for the mur-
der of
Cæsar.*

And therefore when *Cæsars* body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a funeral oration in commendacion of *Cæsar*, according to the aun- cient custom of praising noble men at their funerals. When he saw that the people were very glad and desir- ous also to heare *Cæsar* spoken of, and his praises ut- tered: he mingled his oration with lamentable wordes, and by amplifying of matters did greatly move their harts and affections unto pitie and compassion. In fine to con- clude his oration, he unfolded before the whole assem- bly the bloudy garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, and called the malefac- tors, cruell and cursed murtherers. With these words he put the people into such a fury, that they presently toke *Cæsars* body, and burnt it in the market place, with such tables and fourmes as they could get together. Then when the fire was kindled, they toke firebrands, and ran to the murtherers houses to set them afire, and to make them come out to fight. *Brutus* therfore and his accom- plices, for safety of their persons were driven to fly the city. Then came all *Cæsars* friends unto *Antonius*, and

Calpurnia, specially his wife *Calpurnia* putting her trust in him, she *Cæsars* wife. brought the moſte part of her money into his house,

which amounted to the summe of foure thowsand talents, and furthermore brought him al *Cæsars* bokes and writings, in the which were his memorials of al that he had done and ordeyned. *Antonius* did daily mingle with them such as he thought good, and by that meanes he created newe officers, made newe Senators, called home some that were banished, and delivered those that were prisoners: and then he sayde that all those thinges were so appoynted and ordeyned by *Cæsar*. Therefore the ROMANES mocking them that were so moved, they called them CHARONITES: bicause that when there were overcome, they had no other helpe but to saye, that thus they were found in *Cæsars* memorialls, who had sayled in *Charons* boate, and was departed. Thus *Antonius* ruled absolutely also in all other matters, bicause he was Consul, and *Caius* one of his brethren Prætor, and *Lucius* the other, Tribune. Now thinges remayning in this state at ROME, *Octavius Cæsar* the younger came to ROME, who was the sonne of *Julius Cæsars* Nece, as you have heard before, and was left his lawefull heire by will, remayning at the tyme of the death of his great Uncle that was slayne, in the citie of APOLLONIA. This young man at his first arrivall went to salute *Antonius*, as one of his late dead father *Cæsars* friendes, who by his last will and testament had made him his heire: and withall, he was presently in hande with him for money and other thinges which were left of trust in his handes, bicause *Cæsar* had by will bequeathed unto the people of ROME, three score and fifteene silver Drachmas to be given to every man, the which he as heire stooode charged withall. *Antonius* at the first made no reckoning of him, bicause he was very younge: and sayde he lacked witte, and good friendes to advise him, if he looked to take such a charge in hande, as to undertake to be *Cæsars* heire. But when *Antonius* saw that he could not shake him of with those wordes,

Charonites,
why so called.

M. Anton-
ius Consul.
Caius An-
tonius Præ-
tor. Lucius
Antonius
Tribune, all
three breth-
ren.

Variance be-
twixt An-
tonius and
Octavius
Cæsar, heire
unto Julius
Cæsar.

*Octavius
Cæsar joynd
in friend-
ship with
Cicero.*

*Antonius
and Octavius
became
friends.
Antonius
dreame.*

*Antonius
judged an
enemy by the
Senate.
Hircius and
Pansa Con-
suls.*

and that he was still in hande with him for his fathers goods, but specially for the ready money: then he spake & did what he could against him. And first of all, it was he that did keepe him from being Tribune of the people: and also when *Octavius Cæsar* beganne to meddle with the dedicating of the chayer of gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honor *Cæsar* with: he threatned to send him to prison, and moreover desisted not to put the people in an uprore. This young *Cæsar* seeing his doings, went unto *Cicero* and others, which were *Antonius* enemies, and by them crept into favor with the Senate: and he him self sought the peoples good will every manner of way, gathering together the olde souldiers of the late deceased *Cæsar*, which were dispersed in divers cities and colonyes. *Antonius* being affrayd of it, talked with *Octavius* in the capitoll, and became his friend. But the very same night *Antonius* had a straunge dreame, who thought that lightning fell upon him, and burnt his right hand. Shortly after word was brought him, that *Cæsar* lay in waite to kil him. *Cæsar* cleered him selfe unto him, and told him there was no such matter: but he could not make *Antonius* beleve the contrary. Whereuppon they became further enemies then ever they were: insomuch that both of them made friends of either side to gather together all the old souldiers through ITALY, that were dispersed in divers townes: and made them large promises, and sought also to winne the legions of their side, which were already in armes. *Cicero* on the other side being at that time the chieffest man of authoritie and estimation in the citie, he stirred up al men against *Antonius*: so that in the end he made the Senate pronounce him an enemy to his contry, and appointed young *Cæsar* Sergeaunts to cary axes before him, and such other signes as were incident to the dignitie of a Consul or Prætor: and moreover sent *Hircius* and *Pansa*, then Consuls, to drive

Antonius out of ITALY. These two Consuls together with *Cæsar*, who also had an armye, went against *Antonius* that besegged the citie of MODENA, and there overthrew him in battell: but both the Consuls were slaine there. *Antonius* flying upon this overthrowe, fell into great miserie all at once: but the chieftest want of all other, and that pinched him most, was famine. Howbeit he was of such a strong nature, that by pacience he would overcome any adversitie, and the heavier fortune lay upon him, the more constant shewed he him selfe. Every man that fel-eth want or adversitie, knoweth by vertue and discretion what he should doe: but when in deede they are overlaid with extremitie, and be sore oppressed, few have the harts to follow that which they praise and commend, and much lesse to avoid that they reprove and mislike. But rather to the contrary, they yeld to their accustomed easie life: and through faynt hart, and lacke of corage, doe chaunge their first mind and purpose. And therefore it was a wonderfull example to the souldiers, to see *Antonius* that was brought up in all finenes and superfluitie, so easily to drinke puddle water, and to eate wild frutes and rootes: and moreover it is reported, that even as they passed the Alpes, they did eate the barcks of trees, and such beasts, as never man tasted of their flesh before. Now their intent was to joyne with the legions that were on the otherside of the Mountaines, under *Lepidus* charge: whom *Antonius* tooke to be his friend, bicause he had holpen him to many things at *Cæsars* hand, through his meanes. When he was come to the place where *Lepidus* was, he camped hard by him: and when he saw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venter him selfe, and to goe unto *Lepidus*. Since the overthrow he had at MODENA, he suffred his beard to grow at length and never clypt it, that it was marvelous long, and the heare of his heade also without koming:

*Antonius
overthrowen
in battell by
the citie of
Modena.*

*Antonius
patient in
adversitie.*

*Antonius
hardnes in
adversitie,
notwith-
standing his
fine bringing
up.*

and besides all this, he went in a mourning gowne, and after this sort came hard to the trenches of *Lepidus* campe. Then he beganne to speake unto the souldiers, and many of them their hartes yerned for pitie to see him so poorely arrayed, and some also through his wordes beganne to pitie him: insomuch that *Lepidus* beganne to be affrayd, and therefore commaunded all the trompetts to sownd together to stoppe the souldiers eares, that they should not harken to *Antonius*. This notwithstanding, the souldiers tooke the more pitie of him, and spake secretly with him by *Clodius* and *Laelius* meanes, whom they sent unto him disguised in womens apparel, and gave him counsel that he should not be affraid to enter into their campe, for there were a great number of souldiers that would receive him, and kill *Lepidus*, if he would say the word. *Antonius* would not suffer them to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his army to wade a ford, at a litle river that ranne betweene them: and him selfe was the foremost man that tooke the river to get over, seeing a number of *Lepidus* campe that gave him their handes, plucked up the stakes, and layed flat the bancke of their trenche to let him in to their campe. When he was come into their campe, and that he had all the army at his commaundement: he used *Lepidus* very curteously, imbraced him, and called him father: and though in deede *Antonius* did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he alway gave *Lepidus* the name and honor of the Captaine. *Munatius Plancus*, lying also in campe hard by with an armye: understanding the report of *Antonius* curtesie, he also came and joined with him. Thus *Antonius* being a foote againe, and growen of great power, re-passed over the Alpes, leading into ITALY with him seventeene legions, and tenne thowsand horsemen, besides six legions he left in garrison amonge the GAVLES, under the charge of one *Varius*, a companion of his that

Antonius
wan all *Lep-*
idus army
from him.

Varius,

would drinke lustely with him, and therefore in mock-
ery was surnamed *Cotylon*: to wit, a bibber. So *Octavius* *Cotylon*.

Cæsar would not leane to *Cicero*, when he saw that his whole travail and endeavor was onely to restore the common wealth to her former libertie. Therefore he sent certaine of his friends to *Antonius*, to make them friends againe: and thereuppon all three met together, (to wete, *Cæsar*, *Antonius*, & *Lepidus*) in an Iland envyrond round about with a litle river, and there remayned three dayes together. Now as touching all other matters, they were easily agreed, and did devide all the Empire of ROME betwene them, as if it had bene their owne inheritance.

The conspiracie and meeting of Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus.

But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for every one of them would kill their enemies, and save their kinsmen and friends. Yet at length, giving place to their greedy desire to be revenged of their enemies, they spurned all reverence of bloud, and holines of friendship at their feete. For *Cæsar* left *Cicero* to *Antonius*

will, *Antonius* also forsooke *Lucius Cæsar*, who was his Uncle by his mother: and both of them together suffred *Lepidus* to kill his owne brother *Paulus*. Yet some writers affirme, that *Cæsar* and *Antonius* requested *Paulus* might be slain, and that *Lepidus* was contented with it. In my opinion there was never a more horrible, unnatural, and crueller chaunge then this was. For thus chaunging mur-
ther for murther, they did aswel kill those whom they did forsake and leave unto others, as those also which others left unto them to kil: but so much more was their wickednes and cruelty great unto their friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, and having no cause to hate them. After this plat was agreed upon betwene them: the souldiers that were thereabouts, would have this friendship and league betwixt them confirmed by mariage, and that *Cæsar* should mary *Claudia*, the daughter of *Fulvia*, and *Antonius* wife. This mariage also

The pro-scription of the Trium-viri.

*Antonius
cruelty unto
Cicero.*

being agreed upon, they condemned three hundred of the chiefest citizens of ROME, to be put to death by proscription. And *Antonius* also commaunded them to whom he had geuen commission to kil *Cicero*, that they should strik of his head and right hand, with the which he had written the invective Orations (called *Philippides*) against *Antonius*. So when the murtherers brought him *Ciceroes* head and hand cut of, he beheld them a long time with great joy, and laughed hartily, and that oftentimes for the great joy he felt. Then when he had taken his pleasure of the sight of them, he caused them to be set up in an open place, over the pulpit for Orations (where when he was alive, he had often spoken to the people) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not bleamished his owne fortune, shewing him selfe (to his great shame and infamie) a cruell man, and unworthie the office and authoritie he bare. His uncle *Lucius Cæsar* also, as they sought for him to kill him, & followed him hard, fledde unto his sister. The murtherers comming thither, forcing to breake into her chamber, she stooode at her chamber dore, with her armes abroad, crying out still: you shall not kill *Lucius Cæsar*, before you first kill me, that bare your Captaine in my wombe. By this meanes she saved her brothers life. Now the government of these Triumviri grewe odious and hatefull to the ROMANES, for divers respects: but they most blamed *Antonius*, bicause he being elder then *Cæsar*, and of more power and force then *Lepidus*, gave him selfe againe to his former riot and excesse, when he left to deale in the affaires of the common wealth. But setting aside the ill name he had for his insolencie, he was yet much more hated in respect of the house he dwelt in, the which was the house of *Pompey* the great: a man as famous for his temperaunce, modestie, and civil life, as for his three triumphes. For it grieved them to see the gates commonly shut against the Captaines, Mag-

*Lucius
Cæsars life
saved, by his
sister.*

*Antonius
riot in his
Triumvirates.*

*The praise of
Pompey the
great.*

istrates of the citie, and also Ambassadors of straunge nations, which were sometimes thrust from the gate with violence: and that the house within was full of tombles, anticke dauncers, juglers, players, jeasters, & dronkards, quaffing and goseling, and that on them he spent and bestowed the most parte of his money he got by all kind of possible extorcions, briberie and policie. For they did not onely sell by the crier, the goods of those whom they had outlawed, and appointed to murther, slaunderously deceived the poore widowes and young orphanes, and also raised all kind of imposts, subsidies, and taxes: but understanding also that the holy vestall Nunnes had certaine goods and money put in their custodie to keepe, both of mens in the citie, & those also that were abroad: they went thither, and tooke them away by force. *Octavius Caesar* perceiving that no money woulde serve *Antonius* turne, he prayed that they might devide the money betwene them, and so did they also devide the armie, for them both to goe into MACEDON to make warre against *Brutus* and *Cassius*: and in the meane time they left the government of the citie of ROME unto *Lepidus*. When they had passed over the seas, and that they beganne to make warre, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, *Antonius* against *Cassius*, and *Caesar* against *Brutus*: *Caesar* did no great matter, but *Antonius* had alway the upper hand, and did all. For at the first battell *Caesar* was overthrowen by *Brutus*, and lost his campe, and verie hardly saved him selfe by flying from them that followed him. Howebeit he writeth him selfe in his Commentaries, that he fled before the charge was geven, bicause of a dreame one of his frends had. *Antonius* on the other side overthrewe *Cassius* in battell, though some write that he was not there him selfe at the battell, but that he came after the overthrowe, whilest his men had the enemies in chase. So *Cassius* at his earnest request was slaine by a

The valliantnes of Antonius against Brutus.

The death of Cassius.

*Brutus slue
him selfe.*

*Antonius
gave honor-
able buriall
unto Brutus.*

*Antonius
great curtesie
in Græce.*

faithfull servaunt of his owne called *Pindarus*, whom he had infranchised: bicause he knewe not in time that *Brutus* had overcomen *Cæsar*. Shortly after they fought an other battell againe, in the which *Brutus* was overthrowen, who afterwarde also slue him selfe. Thus *Antonius* had the chieffest glorie of all this victorie, specially bicause *Cæsar* was sicke at that time. *Antonius* having found *Brutus* body after this battel, blaming him muche for the murther of his brother *Caius*, whom he had put to death in MACEDON for revenge of *Ciceroes* cruell death, and yet laying the fault more in *Hortensius* then in him: he made *Hortensius* to be slaine on his brothers tumbe. Furthermore, he cast his coate armor (which was wonderfull rich and sumptuous) upon *Brutus* bodie, and gave commaundement to one of his slaves infranchised, to defray the charge of his buriall. But afterwards, *Antonius* hearing that his infranchised bondman had not burnt his coate armor with his bodie, bicause it was verie riche, and worth a great summe of money, and that he had also kept backe much of the ready money appointed for his funerall and tombe: he also put him to death. After that *Cæsar* was conveyed to ROME, and it was thought he would not live long, nor scape the sickenes he had. *Antonius* on thother side went towardes the East provinces and regions, to leavie money: and first of all he went into GRÆCE, and caried an infinite number of souldiers with him. Now, bicause everie souldier was promised five thowsande silver Drachmas, he was driven of necessitie to impose extreame tallages and taxacions. At his first comming into GRÆCE, he was not hard nor bitter unto the GRÆCIANS, but gave him selfe onely to heare wise men dispute, to see playes, and also to note the ceremonies and sacrifices of GRÆCE, ministring justice to everie man, and it pleased him marvelously to heare them call him *Philellen*, (as much to say, a lover of the GRÆCIANS)

and specially the ATHENIANS, to whom he did many great pleasures. Wherefore the MEGARIANS, to exceede the ATHENIANS, thinking to shew *Antonius* a goodly sight: they prayed him to come & see their Senate house, and counsell hall. *Antonius* went thither to see it: so when he had seene it at his pleasure, they asked him, my Lord, how like you our hall? Me thinkes (quod he) it is litle, old, and ready to fall downe. Furthermore, he tooke measure of the temple of *Apollo Pythias*, and promised the Senate to finish it. But when he was once come into ASIA, having left *Lucius Censorinus* Governor in GRÆCE, and that he had felt the riches and pleasures of the East partes, and that Princes, great Lordes and Kinges, came to waite at his gate for his comming out, & that Queenes and Princesses to excell one an other, gave him verie riche presentes, and came to see him, curiously setting forth them selves, and using all art that might be to shewe their beawtie, to win his favor the more: (*Cæsar* in the meane space turmoyling his wits and bodie in civill warres at home, *Antonius* living merily and quietly abroad) he easely fell againe to his old licentious life. For straight one *Anaxenor* a player of the citherne, *Xoutus* a *The plagues of Italie, in riot.* player of the flutes, *Metrodorus* a tomblor, and such a rabble of minstrells and fit ministers for the pleasures of ASIA, (who in finenes and flattery passed all the other plagues he brought with him out of ITALIE) all these flocked in his court, and bare the whole sway: and after that, all went awry. For every one gave them selves to riot and excesse, when they saw he delighted in it: and all ASIA was like to the citie *Sophocles* speaketh of in one of his tragedies:

*Was full of sweete perfumes, and pleasant songs,
With woefull weping mingled there amongs.*

For in the citie of EPHESVS, women attyred as they goe

*Antonius
crueltie in
Asia.*

*Hybræas
wordes unto
Antonius,
touching
their great
payments of
money unto
him.*

*Antonius
simplicity.*

in the feastes and sacrifice of *Bacchus*, came out to meete him with such solemnities and ceremonies, as are then used: with men and children disguised like Fawnes and Satyres. Moreover, the citie was full of Ivey, and darts wreathed about with Ivey, psalterions, flutes and how-boyes, and in their songes they called him *Bacchus*, father of mirth, curteous, and gentle: and so was he unto some, but to the most parte of men, cruell, and extreame. For he robbed noble men and gentle men of their goods, to geve it unto vile flatterers: who oftentimes begged mens goods living, as though they had bene dead, and would enter their houses by force. As he gave a citizens house of *MAGNESIA* unto a cooke, bicause (as it is reported) he dressed him a fine supper. In the ende he doubled the taxacion, and imposed a seconde upon *ASIA*. But then *Hybræas* the Orator sent from the estates of *ASIA*, to tell him the state of their contrie, boldly sayd unto him: if thou wilt have power to lay two tributes in one yere upon us, thou shouldest also have power to geve us two sommers, two autumnes, and two harvests. This was gallantly and pleasauntly spoken unto *Antonius* by the Orator, and it pleased him well to heare it: but afterwards amplifying his speache, he spake more boldly, and to better purpose. *ASIA* hath payed the two hundred thowsand talents. If all this money be not come to thy cofers, then aske accompt of them that leavied it: but if thou have received it, & nothing beleft of it, then are we utterly undone. *Hybræas* words nettled *Antonius* roundly. For he understoode not many of the thefts and robberies his officers committed by his authoritie, in his treasure and affaires: not so muche bicause he was carelesse, as for that he over simply trusted his men in all things. For he was a plaine man, without suttletie, and therefore overlate founde out the fowle faultes they committed against him: but when he heard of them, he was

much offended, and would plainly confesse it unto them whome his officers had done injurie unto, by countenance of his authoritie. He had a noble minde, as well to punish offenders, as to reward well doers: and yet he did exceede more in geving, then in punishing. Now for his outrageous manner of railing he commonly used, mocking and flouting of everie man: that was remedied by it selfe. For a man might as boldly exchange a mocke with him, and he was as well contented to be mocked, as to mock others. But yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that those which told him so plainly, and truly in mirth: would never flatter him in good earnest, in any matter of weight. But thus he was easely abused by the praises they gave him, not finding howe these flatterers mingled their flatterie, under this familiar & plaine manner of speach unto him, as a fine devise to make difference of meates with sharpe and tart sauce, and also to kepe him by this franke jeasting and bourding with him at the table, that their common flatterie should not be troublesome unto him, as men do easely mislike to have too much of one thing: and that they handled him finely thereby when they would geve him place in any matter of waight, and follow his counsell, that it might not appeare to him they did it so much to please him, but because they were ignoraunt, & understoode not so much as he did. [Antonius being thus inclined, the last and extreamest mischiefe of all other (to wit, the love of Cleopatra) lighted on him, who did waken and stirre up many vices yet hidden in him, and were never seene to any: and if any sparke of goodnesse or hope of rising were left him, Cleopatra quenched it straight, and made it worse then before.] The manner how he fell in love with her was this. Antonius going to make warre with the PARTHIANS, sent to commaunde Cleopatra to appeare personally before him, when he came into CILICIA, to aunswere unto

*Antonius
maners.*

*Antonius
love to Cleopatra whom
he sent for
into Cilicia.*

suche accusations as were layed against her, being this: that she had aided *Cassius* and *Brutus* in their warre against him. The messenger sent unto *Cleopatra* to make this summons unto her, was called *Dellius*: who when he had throughly considered her beawtie, the excellent grace and sweetenesse of her tongue, he nothing mistrusted that *Antonius* would doe any hurte to so noble a Ladie, but rather assured him selfe, that within few dayes she should be in great favor with him. Thereupon he did her great honor, and perswaded her to come into *CILICIA*, as honorably furnished as she could possible, and bad her not to be affrayed at all of *Antonius*, for he was a more curteous Lord, then any that she had ever seene. *Cleopatra* on thother side beleiving *Dellius* wordes, and gessing by the former accesse and credit she had with *Julius Cæsar*, and *Cneus Pompey* (the sonne of *Pompey* the great) only for her beawtie: she began to have good hope that she might more easely win *Antonius*. For *Cæsar* and *Pompey* knew her when she was but a young thing, and knew not then what the worlde ment: but now she went to *Antonius* at the age when a womans beawtie is at the prime, and she also of best judgement. So, she furnished her selfe with a world of gifts, store of gold and silver, and of riches and other sumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough she might bring from so great a house, and from so wealthie and rich a realme as *ÆGYPT* was. But yet she caried nothing with her wherein she trusted more then in her selfe, and in the charmes and inchauntment of her passing beawtie and grace. Therefore when she was sent unto by divers letters, both from *Antonius* him selfe, and also from his frendes, she made so light of it, and mocked *Antonius* so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but E to take her barge in the river of *Cydnus*, the poope whereof was of gold, the sailes of purple, and the owers of silver, which kept stroke in

*The wonder-
full sumptu-
ousnes of*

rowing after the sounde of the musicke of flutes, how-
 boyes, citherns, violls, and such other instruments as
 they played upon in the barge. And now for the person
 of her selfe: she was layed under a pavillion of cloth of
 gold of tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddesse
Venus, commonly drawen in picture: and hard by her,
 on either hand of her, pretie faire boyes apparelled as
 painters doe set forth god *Cupide*, with litle fannes in
 their hands, with the which they fanned wind upon her.
 Her Ladies and gentlewomen also, the fairest of them
 were apparelled like the nymphes *Nereides* (which are
 the mermaides of the waters) and like the *Graces*, some
 steering the helme, others tending the tackle and ropes
 of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull
 passing sweete savor of perfumes, that perfumed the
 wharfes side, pestered with innumerable multitudes of
 people. Some of them followed the barge all alongest the
 rivers side: others also ranne out of the citie to see her
 comming in. So that in thend, there ranne such multi-
 tudes of people one after an other to see her, that *Antonius*
 was left post alone in the market place, in his Imperiall
 seate to geve audience: and there went a rumor in the
 peoples mouthes, that the goddesse *Venus* was come to
 play with the god *Bacchus*, for the generall good of all
 ASIA. When *Cleopatra* landed, *Antonius* sent to invite
 her to supper to him. But she sent him word againe, he
 should doe better rather to come and suppe with her.
Antonius therefore to shew him selfe curteous unto her at
 her arrivall, was contented to obey her, and went to sup-
 per to her: where he found such passing sumptuous fare,
 that no tongue can expresse it. But amongst all other
 thinges, he most wondered at the infinite number of
 lightes & torches hanged on the toppe of the house, gev-
 ing light in everie place, so artificially set and ordered by
 devises, some round, some square: that it was the rarest

Cleopatra,
Queene of
Egypt, go-
ing unto An-
tonius.
Cydus fl.

The sumptu-
ous prepara-
tions of the
suppers of
Cleopatra
and An-
tonius.

*Cleopatraes
beawtie.*

thing to behold that eye could discern, or that ever books could mention. The next night, *Antonius* feasting her, contended to passe her in magnificence and finenes: but she overcame him in both. So that he him selfe began to skorne the grosse service of his house, in respect of *Cleopatraes* sumptuousnes & finenesse. And when *Cleopatra* found *Antonius* jeasts and slents to be but grosse, and souldier like, in plaine manner: she gave it him finely, & without feare taunted him throughly. Now her beawtie (as it is reported) was not so passing, as unmatched of other women, nor yet suche, as upon present viewe did enamor men with her: but so sweete was her companie and conversacion, that a man could not possiblie but be taken. And besides her beawtie, the good grace she had to talke and discourse, her curteous nature that tempered her words and dedes, was a spurre that pricked to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voyce and words were marvelous pleasant: for her tongue was an instrument of musicke to divers sports and pastimes, the which she easely turned to any language that pleased her. She spake unto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made them aunswere her selfe, or at the least the most parte of them: as the ÆTHIOPIANS, the ARABIANS, the TROGLODYTES, the HEBRVES, the SYRIANS, the MEDES, and the PARTHIANS, and to many others also, whose languages she had learned. Whereas divers of her progenitors, the kings of ÆGYPT, could scarce learne the ÆGYPTIAN tongue only, and many of them forgot to speake the MACEDONIAN. Nowe, *Antonius* was so ravished with the love of *Cleopatra*, that though his wife *Fulvia* had great warres, and much a doe with *Cæsar* for his affaires, and that the armie of the PARTHIANS, (the which the kings Lieutenautes had geven to the onely leading of *Labienus*) was now assembled in MESOPOTAMIA readie to invade SYRIA: yet, as though all this had

nothing touched him, he yeelded him selfe to goe with *Cleopatra* into ALEXANDRIA, where he spent and lost in childish sports, (as a man might say) and idle pastimes, the most pretious thing a man can spende, as *Antiphon* sayth: and that is, time. For they made an order betwene them, which they called Amimetobion (as much to say, no life comparable and matcheable with it) one feasting ech other by turnes, and in cost, exceeding all measure and reason. And for prooffe hereof, I have heard my grandfather *Lampryas* report, that one *Philotas* a Phisition, borne in the citie of AMPHISSA, told him that he was at that present time in ALEXANDRIA, and studied Phisicke: and that having acquaintance with one of *Antonius* cookes, he tooke him with him to *Antonius* house, (being a young man desirous to see things) to shew him the wonderfull sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchin, and saw a world of diversities of meates, and amongst others, eight wilde boares roasted whole: he began to wonder at it, and sayd, sure you have a great number of ghests to supper. The cooke fell a laughing, and answered him, no (quod he) not many ghestes, nor above twelve in all: but yet all that is boyled or roasted must be served in whole, or else it would be marred straight. For *Antonius* peradventure will suppe presently, or it may be a pretie while hence, or likely enough he will deferre it longer, for that he hath dronke well to day, or else hath had some other great matters in hand: and therefore we doe not dresse one supper only, but many suppers, bicause we are uncerteine of the houre he will suppe in. *Philotas* the Phisition tolde my grandfather this tale, and sayd moreover, that it was his chaunce shortly after to serve the eldest sonne of the sayd *Antonius*, whome he had by his wife *Fulvia*: and that he sate commonly at his table with his other frendes, when he did not dine nor suppe with his father.

An order set up by Antonius and Cleopatra.

The excessive expences of Antonius and Cleopatra in Egypt.

Eight wilde boares roasted whole.

Philotas a Phisition, borne in Amphissa, reporter of this feast.

Philotas, Phisition to

*the younger
Antonius.*

*Philotas
subtil prop-
osition.*

It chaunced one day there came a Phisition that was so full of words, that he made every man wearie of him at the bord: but *Philotas* to stoppe his mouth, put out a subtle proposition to him. It is good in some sorte to let a man drinke colde water that hath an agew: everie man that hath an agew hath it in some sorte, ergo it is good for a man that hath an agew to drinke cold water. The Phisition was so gravelled and amated withall, that he had not a word more to say. Young *Antonius* burst out in such a laughing at him, and was so glad of it, that he sayd unto him: *Philotas*, take all that, I geve it thee: shewing him his cubbord full of plate, with great pots of gold and silver. *Philotas* thanked him, and told him he thought himselfe greatly bound to him for this liberality, but he would never have thought that he had had power to have geven so many things, and of so great value. But muche more he marvelled, when shortly after one of young *Antonius* men brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding him set his marke and stampe upon them, and to locke them up. *Philotas* returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reproved if he tooke them. Then the young gentleman *Antonius* sayd unto him: alas poore man, why doest thou make it nise to take them? Knowest thou not that it is the sonne of *Antonius* that geves them thee, and is able to do it? If thou wilt not beleve me, take rather the readie money they come to: bicause my father peradventure may aske for some of the plate, for the antike and excellent workemanship of them. This I have heard my grandfather tell oftentimes. But now againe to *Cleopatra*. *Plato* wryteth that there are foure kinds of flatterie: but *Cleopatra* devided it into many kinds. For she, were it in sport, or in matter of earnest, still devised sundrie new delights to have *Antonius* at commaundement, never leaving him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her sight. For she would play at dyce with him, drinke

*Plato writeth
of foure kinds
of flatterie.
Cleopatra
Queene of all
flatterers.*

with him, and hunt commonly with him, and also be with him when he went to any exercise or activitiy of body. And sometime also, when he would goe up and downe the citie disguised like a slave in the night, and would peere into poore mens windowes and their shops, and scold and brawle with them within the house: *Cleopatra* would be also in a chamber maides array, and amble up & downe the streets with him, so that oftentimes *Antonius* bare away both mockes & blowes. Now, though most men misliked this maner, yet the ALEXANDRIANS were commonly glad of this jolity, and liked it well, saying verie gallantly, & wisely: that *Antonius* shewed them a commicall face, to wit, a merie countenance: and the ROMANES a tragicall face, to say, a grimme looke. But to reckon up all the foolishe sportes they made, revelling in this sorte: it were too fond a parte of me, and therefore I will only tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none, he was as angrie as could be, bicause *Cleopatra* stooode by. Wherefore he secretly commaunded the fisher men, that when he cast in his line, they should straight dive under the water, and put a fishe on his hooke which they had taken before: & so snatched up his angling rodde, & brought up fish twise or thrise. *Cleopatra* found it straight, yet she seemed not to see it, but wondred at his excellent fishing: but when she was alone by her selfe among her owne people, she told them howe it was, and bad them the next morning to be on the water to see the fishing. A number of people came to the haven, and got into the fisher boates to see this fishing. *Antonius* then threw in his line and *Cleopatra* straight commaunded one of her men to dive under water before *Antonius* men, and to put some old salte fish upon his baite, like unto those that are brought out of the contrie of PONT. When he had hong the fish on his hooke, *Antonius* thinking he had

Antonius
fishing in
Egypt.

*The warres
of Lucius
Antonius
and Fulvia,
against Oct-
avius Cæsar*

taken a fishe in deede, snatched up his line presently. Then they all fell a laughing. *Cleopatra* laughing also, said unto him: leave us (my Lord) ÆGYPTIANS (which dwell in the contry of PHARVS and CANOBVS) your angling rodde: this is not thy profession: thou must hunt after conquering of realmes and contries. Nowe *Antonius* delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, verie ill newes were brought him from two places. The first from ROME, that his brother *Lucius*, and *Fulvia* his wife, fell out first betwene them selves, and afterwards fell to open warre with *Cæsar*, and had brought all to nought, that they were both driven to flie out of ITALIE. The seconde newes, as bad as the first: that *Labienus* conquered all ASIA with the armie of the PARTHIANS, from the river of Euphrates, and from SYRIA, unto the contries of LYDIA and IONIA. Then began *Antonius* with much a doe, a litle to rouse him selfe as if he had bene wakened out of a deepe sleepe, and as a man may say, comming out of a great dronkennes. So, first of all he bent him selfe against the PARTHIANS, and went as farre as the contrie of PHÆNICIA: but there he received lamentable letters from his wife *Fulvia*. Whereuppon he straight returned towards ITALIE, with two hundred saile: and as he went, tooke up his frendes by the way that fled out of ITALIE, to come to him. By them he was informed, that his wife *Fulvia* was the only cause of this warre: who being of a peevish, crooked, and troublesome nature, had purpose-ly raised this uprore in ITALIE, in hope thereby to withdraw him from *Cleopatra*. But by good fortune, his wife *Fulvia* going to meete with *Antonius*, sickened by the way, and dyed in the citie of SICYONE: and therefore *Octavius Cæsar*, and he were the easelier made frendes together. For when *Antonius* landed in ITALIE, and that men saw *Cæsar* asked nothing of him, and that *Antonius* on the other side layed all the fault and burden on his

*The death of
Fulvia An-
tonius wife.*

wife *Fulvia*: the frendes of both parties would not suffer them to unrippe any olde matters, and to prove or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this warre, fearing to make matters worse betwene them: but they made them frendes together, and devided the Empire of ROME betwene them, making the sea Ionium the bounds of their division. For they gave all the provinces Eastward, unto *Antonius*: and the countries Westward, unto *Cæsar*: and left AFRICKE unto *Lepidus*: and made a law, that they three one after another should make their frendes Consuls, when they would not be them selves. This seemed to be a sound counsell, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter bonde, which fortune offered thus. There was *Octavia* the eldest sister of *Cæsar*, not by one mother, for she came of *Ancharia*, and *Cæsar* him self afterwards of *Accia*. It is reported, that he dearly loved his sister *Octavia*, for in deede she was a noble Ladie, and left the widow of her first husband *Caius Marcellus*, who dyed not long before: and it seemed also that *Antonius* had bene widower ever since the death of his wife *Fulvia*. For he denied not that he kept *Cleopatra*, but so did he not confesse that he had her as his wife: and so with reason he did defend the love he bare unto this ÆGYPTIAN *Cleopatra*. There-uppon everie man did set forward this mariage, hoping thereby that this Ladie *Octavia*, having an excellent grace, wisdom, and honestie, joyned unto so rare a beawtie, that when she were with *Antonius* (he loving her as so worthy a Ladie deserveth) she should be a good meane to keepe good love and amitie betwext her brother and him. So when *Cæsar* and he had made the matche betwene them, they both went to ROME about this mariage, although it was against the law, that a widow should be married within tenne monethes after her husbandes death. Howbeit the Senate dispensed with the law, and

All the Empire of Rome devided betwene the Triumviri.

Octavia, the halfe sister of Octavius Cæsar, and daughter of Ancharia which was not Cæsars mother.

A law at Rome for marrying of widowes. Antonius

married Octavia, Octavius Cæsar's halfe sister.

Antonius and Octavius Cæsar, doe make peace with Sextus Pompeius.

Sextus Pompeius taunt to Antonius.

Sextus Pompeius being offered wonderfull great fortune: for

so the mariage proceeded accordingly. *Sextus Pompeius* at that time kept in SICILIA, and so made many an inrode into ITALIE with a great number of pynnasies and other pirates shippes, of the which were Captaines two notable pirats, *Menas*, and *Menecrates*, who so scoored all the sea thereabouts, that none durst peepe out with a sayle. Furthermore, *Sextus Pompeius* had delt verie frendly with *Antonius*, for he had curteously received his mother, when she fled out of ITALIE with *Fulvia*: & therefore they thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three together by the mount of Misena, upon a hill that runneth farre into the sea: *Pompey* having his shippes ryding hard by at ancker, and *Antonius* and *Cæsar* their armies upon the shoare side, directly over against him. Now, after they had agreed that *Sextus Pompeius* should have SICILE and SARDINIA, with this condicion, that he should ridde the sea of all theeves and pirats, and make it safe for passengers, and withall that he should send a certaine of wheate to ROME: one of them did feast an other, and drew cuts who should beginne. It was *Pompeius* chaunce to invite them first. Whereupon *Antonius* asked him: and where shall we suppe? There, said *Pompey*, and shewed him his admirall galley which had six bankes of owers: that (sayd he) is my fathers house they have left me. He spake it to taunt *Antonius*, because he had his fathers house, that was *Pompey* the great. So he cast ankers enowe into the sea, to make his galley fast, and then built a bridge of wodde to convey them to his galley, from the heade of mount Misena: & there he welcomed them, and made them great cheere. Now in the middest of the feast, when they fell to be merie with *Antonius* love unto *Cleopatra*: *Menas* the pirate came to *Pompey*, and whispering in his eare, said unto him: shall I cut the gables of the ankers, & make thee Lord not only of SICILE & SARDINIA, but of the whole Empire of ROME

besides? *Pompey* having pawsed a while upon it, at length answered him: thou shouldest have done it, and never have told it me, but now we must content us with that we have. As for my selfe, I was never taught to breake my faith, nor to be counted a traitor. The other two also did likewise feast him in their campe, and then he returned into SICILE. *Antonius* after this agreement made, sent *Ventidius* before into ASIÁ to stay the PARTHIANS, and to keepe them they should come no further: and he him selfe in the meane time, to gratefie *Cæsar*, was contented to be chosen *Julius Cæsars* priest and sacrificer, and so they joyntly together dispatched all great matters, concerning the state of the Empire. But in all other maner of sportes and exercises, wherein they passed the time away the one with the other: *Antonius* was ever inferior unto *Cæsar*, and alway lost, which grieved him much. With *Antonius* there was a soothsayer or astronomer of ÆGYPT, that coulde cast a figure, and judge of mens nativities, to tell them what should happen to them. He, either to please *Cleopatra*, or else for that he founde it so by his art, told *Antonius* plainly, that his fortune (which of it selfe was excellent good, and very great) was altogether bleamished, and obscured by *Cæsars* fortune: and therefore he counselled him utterly to leave his company, and to get him as farre from him as he could. For thy *Demon* said he, (that is to say, the good angell and spirit that kepeth thee) is affraied of his: and being coragious and high when he is alone, becometh fearefull and timerous when he commeth neere unto the other. Howsoever it was, the events ensuing proved the ÆGYPTIANS words true. For, it is said, that as often as they two drew cuts for pastime, who should have any thing, or whether they plaied at dice, *Antonius* alway lost. Oftentimes when they were disposed to see cockefight, or quailles that were taught to fight one with an other:

*his honestie
and faithes
sake, refused
it.*

*Antonius
told by a
Soothsayer,
that his for-
tune was in-
ferior unto
Octavius
Cæsar.*

*Antonius
unfortunate
in sport and
earnest,
against Oct-
avius Cæsar.*

*Orodes king
of Parthia.*

*Ventidius
notable vict-
orie of the
Parthians.*

*The death of
Pacorus, the
king of Par-
thiaes sonne.*

Cæsars cockes or quailles did ever overcome. The which spighted *Antonius* in his mind, although he made no outward shew of it: and therefore he beleved the *ÆGYPTIAN* the better. In fine, he recommended the affaires of his house unto *Cæsar*, and went out of *ITALIE* with *Octavia* his wife, whom he caried into *GRÆCE*, after he had had a daughter by her. So *Antonius* lying all the winter at *ATHENS*, newes came unto him of the victories of *Ventidius*, who had overcome the *PARTHIANS* in battel, in the which also were slaine, *Labienus*, and *Pharnabates*, the chiefeest Captaine king *Orodes* had. For these good newes he feasted all *ATHENS*, and kept open house for all the *GRÆCIANS*, and many games of price were plaied at *ATHENS*, of the which he him selfe would be judge. Wherefore leaving his gard, his axes, and tokens of his Empire at his house, he came into the show place (or listes) where these games were played, in a long gowne and slippers after the *GRÆCIAN* facion, and they caried tippestaves before him, as marshalls men do cary before the Judges to make place: and he himselfe in person was a stickler to part the young men, when they had fought enough. After that, preparing to go to the warres, he made him a garland of the holy Olive, and caried a vessel with him of the water of the fountaine *Clepsydra*, bicause of an Oracle he had received that so commaunded him. In the meane time, *Ventidius* once againe overcame *Pacorus*, (*Orodes* sonne king of *PARTHIA*) in a battell fought in the contrie of *CYRRESTICA*, he being come againe with a great armie to invade *SYRIA*: at which battell was slaine a great number of the *PARTHIANS*, and among them *Pacorus*, the kings owne sonne slaine. This noble exployt as famous as ever any was, was a full revenge to the *ROMANES*, of the shame and losse they had received before by the death of *Marcus Crassus*: and he made the *PARTHIANS* flie, and glad to kepe them selves

within the confines and territories of MESOPOTAMIA, and MEDIA, after they had thrise together bene overcome in severall battells. Howbeit *Ventidius* durst not undertake to follow them any further, fearing least he should have gotten *Antonius* displeasure by it. Notwithstanding, he led his armie against them that had rebelled, and conquered them againe: amongst whome he besieged *Antiochus*, king of COMMAGENA, who offered him to give a thowsand talentes to be pardoned his rebellion, and promised ever after to be at *Antonius* commaundement. But *Ventidius* made him aunswere, that he should send unto *Antonius*, who was not farre of, and would not suffer *Ventidius* to make any peace with *Antiochus*, to the end that yet this litle exployt should passe in his name, and that they should not thinke he did any thing but by his Lieutenaunt *Ventidius*. The siege grew verie long, because they that were in the towne, seeing they could not be received upon no reasonable composition: determined valliantly to defende them selves to the last man. Thus *Antonius* did nothing, & yet received great shame, repenting him much that he tooke not their first offer. And yet at last he was glad to make truce with *Antiochus*, & to take three hundred talentes for composition. Thus after he had set order for the state and affaires of SYRIA, he returned againe to ATHENS: & having given *Ventidius* suche honors as he deserved, he sent him to ROME, to triumphe for the PARTHIANS. *Ventidius* was the only *Ventidius* man that ever triumphed of the PARTHIANS untill this *the only man* present day, a meane man borne, and of no noble house *of the Rom-* nor family: who only came to that he attained unto, *anes, that* through *Antonius* frendshippe, the which delivered him *triumphed* for the Par- *thians.* happie occasion to achieve to great matters. And yet to say truely, he did so well quit him selfe in all his enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of *Antonius* and *Cæsar*: to wit, that they were alway more for-

*Canidius
conquests.*

*Newe dis-
pleasures be-
twext An-
tonius and
Octavius
Cæsar.*

*The wordes
of Octavia
unto Mæ-
cenas and
Agrippa.*

*Octavia paci-
fieth the
quarrell*

tunate when they made warre by their Lieutenants, then by them selves. For *Sossius*, one of *Antonius* Lieutenantes in SYRIA, did notable good service: and *Canidius*, whom he had also left his Lieutenaut in the borders of ARMENIA, did conquer it all. So did he also overcome the kinges of the IBERIANS and ALBANIANS, and went on with his conquests unto mount Caucasus. By these conquests, the fame of *Antonius* power increased more and more, and grew dreadfull unto all the barbarous nations. But *Antonius* notwithstanding, grewe to be marvelously offended with *Cæsar*, upon certaine reportes that had bene brought unto him: and so tooke sea to go towards ITALIE with three hundred saile. And bicause those of BRVNDVSIVM would not receive his armie into their haven, he went further unto TARENTVM. There his wife *Octavia* that came out of GRÆCE with him, besought him to send her unto her brother: the which he did. *Octavia* at that time was great with child, and moreover had a second daughter by him, and yet she put her selfe in jorney, and met with her brother *Octavius Cæsar* by the way, who brought his two chiefe frendes, *Mæcenas* and *Agrippa* with him. She tooke them aside, and with all the instance she could possible, intreated them they would not suffer her that was the happiest woman of the world, to become nowe the most wretched and unfortunate creature of all other. For now, said she, everie mans eyes doe gaze on me, that am the sister of one of the Emperours and wife of the other. And if the worst councill take place, (which the goddes forbidde) and that they growe to warres: for your selves, it is uncertaine to which of them two the goddes have assigned the victorie, or overthrowe. But for me, on which side soever victorie fall, my state can be but most miserable still. These wordes of *Octavia* so softned *Cæsars* harte, that he went quickly unto TARENTVM. But it was a noble sight

for them that were present, to see so great an armie by lande not to sturre, and so many shippes aflote in the roade, quietly and safe: and furthermore, the meeting and kindenesse of frendes, lovinglie imbracing one another. First, *Antonius* feasted *Cæsar*, which he graunted unto for his sisters sake. Afterwardes they agreed together, that *Cæsar* should geve *Antonius* two legions to go against the PARTHIANS: and that *Antonius* should let *Cæsar* have a hundred gallies armed with brasen spurres at the prooes. Besides all this, *Octavia* obeyned of her husbände, twentie brigantines for her brother: and of her brother for her husbände, a thowsande armed men. After they had taken leave of eache other, *Cæsar* went immediatly to make warre with *Sextus Pompeius*, to gette SICILIA into his handes. *Antonius* also leaving his wife *Octavia* and litle children begotten of her, with *Cæsar*, and his other children which he had by *Fulvia*: he went directlie into ASIA. Then beganne this pestilent plague and mischief of *Cleopatras* love (which had slept a long tyme, and seemed to have bene utterlie forgotten, and that *Antonius* had geven place to better counsell) againe to kindle, and to be in force, so soone as *Antonius* came neere unto SYRIA. And in the ende, the horse of the minde as *Plato* termeth it, that is so hard of rayne (I meane the unreyned lust of concupiscence) did put out of *Antonius* heade, all honest & commendable thoughtes: for he sent *Fonteius Capito* to bring *Cleopatra* into SYRIA. Unto whome, to welcome her, he gave no trifling things: but unto that she had already, he added the provinces of PHOENICIA, those of the nethermost SYRIA, the Ile of CYPRVS and a great parte of CILICIA, and that contry of IVRIE where the true balme is, and that parte of ARABIA where the NABATHEIANS doe dwell, which stretcheth out towards the Ocean. These great giftes muche misliked the ROMANES. But now, though *Antonius* did

betwixt Antonius, and her brother Octavius Cæsar.

Plato calleth concupiscence: the horse of the minde. Antonius sent for Cleopatra into Syria. Antonius gave great provinces unto Cleopatra.

*Antigonus
king of Iurie,
the first king
beheaded by
Antonius.*

*Antonius
twinnes by
Cleopatra,
and their
names.*

*Phraortes
slue his father
Orodes
king of Persia.*

easily geve away great seigniories, realmes, and mighty nations unto some private men, and that also he tooke from other kings their lawfull realmes: (as from *Antigonus* king of the *IEWES*, whom he openly beheaded, where never king before had suffred like death) yet all this did not so much offend the *ROMANES*, as the unmeasurable honors which he did unto *Cleopatra*. But yet he did much more aggravate their malice and il wil towards him, because that *Cleopatra* having brought him two twinnes, a sonne and a daughter, he named his sonne *Alexander*, and his daughter *Cleopatra*, and gave them to their surnames, the Sunne to the one, and the moone to the other. This notwithstanding, he that could finely cloke his shamefull deedes with fine words, said that the greatnes and magnificence of the Empire of *ROME* appeared most, not where the *ROMANES* tooke, but where they gave much: and nobility was multiplied amongst men, by the posterity of kings, when they left of their seede in divers places: and that by this meanes his first auncester was begotten of *Hercules*, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and posterity, in the wombe of one only woman, fearing *Solons* lawes, or regarding the ordinaunces of men touching the procreacion of children: but that he gave it unto nature, and established the fundacion of many noble races and families in divers places. Nowe when *Phraortes* had slaine his father *Orodes*, and possessed the kingdom: many gentlemen of *PARTHIA* forsooke him, and fled from him. Amongst them was *Monæses*, a noble man, and of great authority among his contry men, who came unto *Antonius*, that received him, and compared his fortune unto *Themistocles* and his owne riches and magnificence, unto the kings of *PERSIA*. For he gave *Monæses* three cities, *LARISSA*, *ARETHVSA*, and *HIERAPOLIS*, which was called before *BOMBYCE*. Howbeit the king of *PARTHIA* shortly after called him home

again, upon his faith and word. *Antonius* was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to steale upon *Phraortes* unprovided. For he sent unto him, and told him that they would remaine good frends, and have peace together, so he would but only redeliver the standers and ensignes of the ROMANES, which the PARTHIANS had wonne in the battell where *Marcus Crassus* was slaine, and the men also that remained yet prisoners of this overthrow. In the meane time he sent *Cleopatra* backe into ÆGYPT, and tooke his way towards ARABIA and ARMENIA, & there tooke a general muster of all his army he had together, and of the kings his confederats that were come by his commaundement to aide him, being a marvelous number: of the which, the chiefeſt was *Artavasdes*, king of ARMENIA, who did furnish him with six thowsande horsemen, and seven thowsand footemen. There were also of the ROMANES about three score thowsand footmen, and of horsemen (SPANIARDS and GAVLES reckoned for ROMANES) to the number of ten thousand, and of other nations thirty thowsand men, reckoning together the horsemen and light armed footemen. This so great and puisant army which made the INDIANS quake for feare, dwelling about the contry of the BACTRIANS, and all ASIA also to tremble: served him to no purpose, and all for the love he bare to *Cleopatra*. For the earnest great desire he had to lye all winter with her, made him begin his warre out of due time, and for haſt, to put all in hazard, being so ravished and enchaunted with the sweete poyson of her love, that he had no other thought but of her, and how he might quickly returne againe: more then how he might overcome his enemies. For first of all, where he should have wintered in ARMENIA to refresh his men, wearied with the long jorney they had made, having comen eight thowsand furlongs, and then at the beginning of the spring to go and invade MEDIA, before

*Antonius
great and
puisant
army.*

*Antonius
dronke with
the love of
Cleopatra.*

the PARTHIANS should stirre out of their houses and gar-
 risons: he could tary no lenger, but led them forthwith
 unto the province of ATROPATENE, leaving ARMENIA
 on the left hand, and forraged al the contry. Further-
 more, making all the hast he coulde, he left behinde him
 engines of batterry which were caried with him in three
 hundred carts, (among the which also there was a ramme
 foure score foote long) being things most necessary for
 him, and the which he could not get againe for money if
 they were once lost or marred. For the hie provinces of
 ASIA have no trees growing of such height and length,
 neither strong nor straight enough to make such like
 engines of batterry. This notwithstanding, he left them
 all behind him, as a hinderance to bring his matters and
 intent speedily to passe: and left a certaine number of
 men to keepe them, and gave them in charge unto one
Tatianus. Then he went to besiege the citie of PHRAATA,
 being the chieftest and greatest citie the king of MEDIA
 had, where his wife and children were. Then he straight
 founde his owne fault, and the want of his artillerie he
 left behinde him, by the worke he had in hande: for he
 was fayne for lacke of a breache (where his men might
 come to the sworde with their enemies that defended the
 walle) to force a mount of earth hard to the walles of the
 citie, the which by litle and litle with greate labour, rose
 to some height. In the meane time king *Phraortes* came
 downe with a great armie: who understanding that *An-*
tonius had left his engines of batterrie behind him, he sent
 a great number of horsemen before, which environed
Tatianus with all his cariage, and slue him, and ten thow-
 sand men he had with him. After this, the barbarous
 people tooke these engines of batterry and burnt them,
 and got many prisoners, amongst whom they tooke also
 king *Polemon*. This discomfiture marvelously troubled
 all *Antonius* army, to receive so great an overthrow (be-

*Antonius be-
 siegeth the
 city of
 Phraata in
 Media.*

*The Parth-
 ians tooke
 Antonius
 engines of
 batterry.*

yond their expectation) at the beginning of their journey: insomuche that *Artabazus*, king of the ARMENIANS, despairing of the good successe of the ROMANES: departed with his men, notwithstanding that he was him selfe the first procurer of this warre and journey. On the other side, the PARTHIANS came coragiously unto *Antonius* campe, who lay at the siege of their chiefeſt citie, and cruelly re-viled and threatned him. *Antonius* therefore fearing that if he lay still and did nothing, his mens harts would faile them: he tooke ten legions, with three cohorts or enſignes of the Prætors, (which are companies appointed for the gard of the Generall) and all his horsemen, and caried them out to forrage, hoping thereby he should easely allure the PARTHIANS to fight a battell. But when he had marched about a dayes journey from his campe, he saw the PARTHIANS wheeling round about him to geve him the onset, and to skirmish with him, when he would thinke to march his way. Therefore he set out his signall of battell, and yet caused his tents and fardells to be trussed up, as though he ment not to fight, but only to lead his men back againe. Then he marched before the army of the barbarous people, the which was marshald like a cressant or halfe moone: & commaunded his horsemen, that as soone as they thought the legions were nere enough unto their enemies to set upon the voward, that then they should set spurres to their horses, and begin the charge. The PARTHIANS standing in battell ray, beholding the countenance of the ROMANES as they marched: they appeared to be souldiers in deede, to see them marche in so good array as was possible. For in their march, they kept the rankes a like space one from an other, not straggling out of order, and shaking their pikes, speaking never a word. But so soone as the allarom was given, the horsemen sodainly turned head upon the PARTHIANS, and with great cries gave charge on them: who

Battell betwext the Parthians and Antonius.

The Romanes good order in their march.

at the first received their charge coragiously, for they were joined nerer them within an arrowes shoote. But when the legions also came to joine with them, showing out alowde, and ratling of their armors: the PARTHIANS horses & them selves were so affrayed and amazed withall, that they all turned taile and fled, before the ROMANES could come to the sword with them. Then *Antonius* followed them hard in chase, being in great good hope by this conflict to have brought to end all, or the most part of this warre. But after that his footemen had chased them fiftie furlonges of, and the horsemen also thrise as farre: they found in all but thirty prisoners taken, and about foure score men only slaine. But this did much discourage them, when they considered with them selves, that obtaining the victory, they had slaine so few of their enemies: and where they were overcome, they lost as many of their men, as they had done at the overthrow when the cariage was taken. The next morning, *Antonius* army trussed up their cariage, and marched backe towards their campe: and by the way in their returne they met at the first a few of the PARTHIANS: then going further, they met a few moe. So at length when they all came together, they reviled them, and troubled them on every side, as freshly and coragiously, as if they had not bene overthrown: so that the ROMANES very hardly got to their campe with safety. The MEDES on the other side, that were besieged in their chiefe city of PHRAATA, made a saly out upon them that kept the mount, which they had forced and cast against the wall of the city, and drave them for feare, from the mount they kept. *Antonius* was so offended withall, that he executed the Decimation. For he devided his men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lot fell: and to the other nine, he caused them to have barley given them in stead of wheate. Thus this warre fell out

*Decimacion
a marshall
punishment.*

troublesome unto both parties, and the ende thereof muche more fearefull. For *Antonius* could looke for no other of his side, but famine: bicause he could forrage no more, nor fetch in any vittells, without great losse of his men. *Phraortes* on the other side, he knew well enough that he could bring the PARTHIANS to any thing els, but to lye in campe abroad in the winter. Therefore he was affrayed, that if the ROMANES continued their siege all winter long, and made warre with him still: that his men would forsake him, and specially bicause the time of the yere went away apace, and the ayer waxed clowdy, and cold, in the equinoctiall autumnne. Therupon he called to mind this devise. He gave the chieftest of his gentlemen of the PARTHIANS charge, that when they met the ROMANES out of their campe, going to forrage, or to water their horse, or for some other provision: that they should not distresse them too muche, but should suffer them to carie somewhat away, and greatly commend their valliantnes and hardines, for the which their king did esteeme them the more, and not without cause. After these first baytes and allurements, they beganne by litle and litle to come neerer unto them, and to talke with them a horsebacke, greatly blaming *Antonius* selfewill that did not geve their king *Phraortes* occasion to make a good peace, who desired nothing more, then to save the lives of so goodly a companie of valliant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greatest and most dreadfull enemies he could have, to wit: winter, and famine, the which they should hardly away withall, though the PARTHIANS did the best they could to aide and accompany them. These words being oftentimes brought to *Antonius*, they made him a litle pliant, for the good hope he had of his returne: but yet he woulde not sende unto the king of PARTHIA, before they had first asked these barbarous people that spake so curteously un-

*The craft of
the Parth-
ians against
the Romanes.*

*Antonius re-
turneth from
the journey of
the Parth-
ians.*

to his men, whether they spake it of them selves, or that they were their maisters words. When they told them the king him selfe sayd so, and did perswade them further not to feare or mistrust them: then *Antonius* sent some of his friends unto the king, to make demaund for the delivery of the ensignes and prisoners he had of the ROMANES, since the overthrow of *Crassus*: to the ende it should not appeare, that if he asked nothing, they shoulde thinke he were glad that he might only scape with safety out of the daunger he was in. The king of PARTHIA answered him: that for the ensignes and prisoners he demaunded, he should not breake his head about it: notwithstanding, that if he would presently depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable maner, & without daunger. Wherefore *Antonius* after he had given his men some time to trusse up their cariage, he raised his campe, and tooke his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to enterteine his souldiers and men of warre, and that he could passingly well do it, as well, or better then any Captaine in his time: yet being ashamed for respects, he would not speake unto them at his removing, but willed *Domitius Aenobarbus* to do it. Many of them tooke this in very ill parte, and thought that he did it in disdaine of them: but the most part of them presently understoode the truth of it, and were also ashamed. Therefore they thought it their dueties to carie the like respect unto their Captaine, that their Captaine did unto them: and so they became the more obedient unto him. So *Antonius* was minded to returne the same way he came, being a plaine barren contry without wodde. But there came a souldier to him, borne in the contry of the MARDIANS, who by oft frequenting the PARTHIANS of long time, knew their facions very wel, and had also shewed him selfe very true and faithfull to the ROMANES, in the battell where *Antonius* en-

gines of battery and cariage were taken away. This man came unto *Antonius*, to counsell him to beware how he went that way, and to make his army a pray, being heavily armed, unto so great a number of horsemen, all archers in the open field, where they should have nothing to let them to compasse him round about: and that this was *Phraortes* fetch to offer him so frendly condicions and curteous words to make him raise his siege, that he might afterwards meete him as he would, in the plaines: howbeit, that he would guide him, if he thought good, another way on the right hand, through woddes & mountaines, a farre neerer way, and where he should finde great plenty of all things needefull for his army. *Antonius* hearing what he said, called his counsel together, to consult upon it. For after he had made peace with the PARTHIANS, he was loth to geve them cause to thinke he mistrusted them: and on thother side also he would gladly shorten his way, and passe by places wel inhabited, where he might be provided of al things necessary: therefore he asked the MARDIAN what pledge he would put in, to performe that he promised. The MARDIAN gave himself to be bound hand and foote, till he had brought his army into the contry of ARMENIA. So he guided the army thus bound, two dayes together, without any trouble or sight of enemy. But the third day, *Antonius* thinking the PARTHIANS would no more follow him, and trusting therein, suffred the souldiers to march in disorder as every man listed. The MARDIAN perceiving that the dammes of a river were newly broken up, which they should have passed over, and that the river had overflowen the bankes and drowned all the way they shoulde have gone: he gessed straight that the PARTHIANS had done it, and had thus broken it open, to stay the ROMANES for getting too farre before them. Therupon he bad *Antonius* looke to him selfe, and told him that his

The Parthians doe set upon Antonius in his returne.

enemies were not farre from thence. *Antonius* having set his men in order, as he was placing of his archers and sling men to resist the enemies, and to drive them backe: they discried the PARTHIANS that wheeled round about the army to compasse them in on every side, and to breake their rankes, and their light armed men gave charge upon them. So after they had hurt many of the ROMANES with their arrowes, and that they them selves were also hurt by them with their dartes and plummets of leade: they retyred a litle, and then came againe and gave charge. Untill that the horsemen of the GAVLES turned their horses, & fiercely gallopped towards them, that they dispersed them so, as al that day they gathered no more together. Therby *Antonius* knew what to do, and did not only strengthen the rereward of his army, but both the flanks also, with darters and sling men, and made his army march in a square battell: commaunding the horsemen, that when the enemies should come to assaile them, they shoulde drive them backe, but not follow them too farre. Thus the PARTHIANS foure daies after, seeing they did no more hurte to the ROMANES, then they also received of them: they were not so hotte upon them as they were commaunded, but excusing them selves by the winter that troubled them, they determined to returne backe againe. The fift day, *Flavius Gallus*, a valliant man of his handes, that had charge in the armie: came unto *Antonius* to pray him to let him have some moe of his light armed men then were alreadie in the rereward, and some of the horsemen that were in the voward, hoping thereby to doe some notable exploite. *Antonius* graunting them unto him, when the enemies came according to their maner to set upon the taile of the army, and to skirmish with them: *Flavius* coragiously made them retire, but not as they were wont to doe before, to retire and joyne presently with their army, for he

The bold act of Flavius Gallus.

overrashly thrust in among them to fight it out at the sword. The Capteines that had the leading of the rereward, seeing *Flavius* stray too farre from the army: they sent unto him to will him to retire, but he would not harken to it. And it is reported also, that *Titius* himselfe the Treasurer, tooke the ensignes, and did what he could to make the ensigne bearers returne backe, reviling *Flavius Gallus*, bicause that through his folly and desperatnes he caused many honest and valliant men to be both hurt and slaine to no purpose. *Gallus* also fel out with him, and commaunded his men to stay. Wherefore *Titius* returned againe into the army, and *Gallus* stil overthrowing and driving the enemies backe whom he met in the voward, he was not ware that he was compassed in. Then seeing him selfe environned of all sides, he sent unto the army, that they should come and aide him: but there the Captaines that led the legions (among the which *Canidius*, a man of great estimacion about *Antonius* made one) committed many faults. For where they should have made head with the whole army upon the PARTHIANS, they sent him aide by small companies: and when they were slaine, they sent him others also. So that by their beastlinesse and lacke of consideracion, they had like to have made all the armie flie, if *Antonius* him selfe had not come from the front of the battell with the third legion, the which came through the middest of them that fled, untill they came to front of the enemies, and that they stayed them from chasing any further. Howbeit at this last conflict there were slaine no lesse then three thousand men, and five thowsande besides brought sore hurt into the campe, and amongst them also *Flavius Gallus*, whose body was shot through in foure places, whereof he died. *Antonius* went to the tents to visite and comfort the sicke and wounded, and for pities sake he could not refraine from weeping: and they also shewing him the

Canidius
fault, *Antonius*
Captaine.

Flavius Gallus slaine.
Antonius
care of them
that were
wounded.

*The love and
reverence of
the souldiers
unto Anto-
nius.*

*The rare and
singular gifts
of Antonius.*

best countenance they coulde, tooke him by the hand, & prayed him to go and be dressed, and not to trouble him selfe for them, most reverently calling him their Emperour and Captaine: and that for them selves, they were whole and safe, so that he had his health. For in deede to say truly, there was not at that time any Emperour or Captaine that had so great and puisant an army as his together, both for lusty youths, and corage of the souldiers, as also for their pacience to away with so great paines and trouble. Furthermore, the obedience and reverence they shewed unto their captaine, with a marvelous earnest love and good wil, was so great: and all were indifferently (as wel great as smal, the noble men, as meane men, the Captaines and souldiers) so earnestly bent to esteeme *Antonius* good will and favor, above their owne life & safety: that in this point of marshall discipline, the auncient ROMANES could not have don any more. But divers things were cause therof, as we have told you before: *Antonius* nobility and ancient house, his eloquence, his plaine nature, his liberality and magnificence, and his familiarity to sport and to be mery in company: but specially the care he tooke at that time to help, visite, and lament those that were sicke and wounded, seing every man to have that which was meete for him: that was of such force and effect, as it made them that were sicke and wounded to love him better, and were more desirous to do him service, then those that were whole and sound. This victory so encouraged the enemies, (who otherwise were weary to follow *Antonius* any further) that all night longe they kept the fieldes, and hovered about the ROMANES campe, thinking that they would presently flie, and then that they should take the spoile of their campe. So the next morning by breake of daye, there were gathered together a farre greater number of the PARTHIANS, then they were before. For the rumor was, that there

were not much fewer then forty thowsand horse, because their king sent thither even the very gard about his person, as unto a most certaine and assured victorie, that they might be partners of the spoyle and booty they hoped to have had: for as touching the king him selfe, he was never in any conflict or battell. Then *Antonius* desirous to speake to his souldiers, called for a blacke gowne, to appeare the more pitifull to them: but his friends did dissuade him from it. Therefore he put on his coate armor, and being so apparelled, made an oration to his armie: in the which he highly commended them that had overcome and driven backe their enemies, and greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backes. So that those which had overcome, prayed him to be of good chere: the other also to cleere them selves, willingly offred to take the lotts of *Decimation* if he thought good, or otherwise, to receive what kind of punishment it should please him to laye upon them, so that he would forget any more to mislike, or to be offended with them.

Antonius seeing that, did lift up his hands to heaven, and made his prayer to the goddes, that if in exchange of his former victories, they would nowe sende him some bitter adversitie: then that all might light on him selfe alone, and that they would give the victorie to the rest of his armie. The next morning, they gave better order on every side of the armie, and so marched forward: so that when the PARTHIANS thought to retorne againe to assaile them, they came farre short of the reckoning. For where they thought to come not to fight, but to spoyle and make havock of all: when they came neare them, they were sore hurt with their slings and darts, and such other javelings as the ROMANES darted at them, and the PARTHIANS found them as rough and desperat in fight, as if they had benefresh men they had delt withall. Whereuppon their harts beganne againe to fayle them. But yet

The king of Parthia never came to fight in the field.

Antonius charitable prayer to the gods for his army.

The Romanes testudo, and covering against shot.

when the ROMANES came to goe downe any steepe hills or mountaines, then they would set on them with their arrowes, bicause the ROMANES could goe downe but fayer and softly. But then againe, the souldiers of the legion that caried great shields, returned backe, and inclosed them that were naked or light armed, in the midst amongst them, and did kneele of one knee on the ground, and so set downe their shields before them: and they of the second ranck also covered them of the first rancke, and the third also covered the second, and so from ranck to rancke all were covered. Insomuch that this manner of covering and sheading them selves with shields, was devised after the facion of laying tiles upon houses, and to sight, was like the degrees of a Theater, and is a most stronge defence and bulwarke against all arrowes and shot that falleth upon it. When the PARTHIANS saw this countenaunce of the ROMANE souldiers of the legion, which kneeled on the ground in that sorte upon one knee, supposing that they had bene wearied with travell: they layed downe their bowes, and tooke their speares and launces, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the ROMANES sodainely rose upon their feete, and with the darts that they threwe from them, they slue the formost, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next dayes that followed. But by meanes of these daungers and lets, *Antonius* armie could winne no way in a day, by reason whereof they suffred great famine: for they could have but litle corne, and yet were they driven daily to fight for it, and besides that, they had no instruments to grynd it, to make bread of it. For the most part of them had bene left behind, bicause the beasts that caried them were either dead, or els employed to cary them that were sore and wounded. For the famine was so extreame great, that the eight parte of a bushell of wheate was sold for fifty Drachmas, and they sold barley

Great famine in Antonius army.

bread by the waight of silver. In the ende, they were compelled to live of erbes and rootes, but they found few of them that men doe commonly eate of, and were inforced to tast of them that were never eaten before: among the which there was one that killed them, and made them out of their witts. For he that had once eaten of it, his memorye was gone from him, and he knewe no manner of thing, but onely busied him selfe in digging & hurling of stones from one place to another, as though it had bene a matter of great waight, and to be done with all possible speede. All the campe over, men were busily stouping to the ground, digging and carying of stones from one place to another: but at the last, they cast up a great deale of choller, and dyed sodainly, because they lacked wine, which was the onely soveraine remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that *Antonius* seeing such a number of his men dye dayly, and that the PARTHIANS left them not, nether would suffer them to be at rest: he oftentimes cryed out sighing, and sayd: O, tenne thousand. He had the valliantnes of tenne thousand GRÆCIANS in such admiration, whome *Xenophon* brought away after the overthrow of CYRVS: because they had comen a farder jorney from BABYLON, and had also fought against much moe enemies many tymes told, then them selves, and yet came home with safetie. The PARTHIANS therfore seeing that they could not breake the good order of the armie of the ROMANES, and contrarily that they them selves were oftentimes put to flight, and wel favouredly beaten: they fell againe to their olde craftie suttelties. For when they found any of the ROMANES scattered from the armie to goe forrage, to seeke some corne, or other vittells: they would come to them as if they had bene their friends, and shewed them their bowes unbent, saying, that them selves also did returne home to their contry as they did, and that they would follow them no

*A deadly
erbe incur-
able without
wine.*

*The valliant-
nes of tenne
thousand
Græcians,
whome
Xenophon
brought away
after the
overthrow
of Cyrus.*

*The Parth-
ians very
suttell and
craftie
people.*

*Mithridates
a Parthian,
bewrayeth
unto Anton-
ius the con-
spiracie of
his own con-
try men
against him.*

further, howbeit that they should yet have certaine MEDES that would follow them a dayes jorney or two, to keepe them that they should doe no hurt to the villages from the high wayes: and so holding them with this talke, they gently tooke their leave of them, and bad them farewell, so that the ROMANES, began againe to thinke them selves safe. *Antonius* also understanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plaine contry, bicause also they should find no water in the mountaines, as it was reported unto him. So as he was determined to take this course, there came into his hoast one *Mithridates*, a gentleman from the enemies campe, who was Cosen unto *Monæzes* that fled unto *Antonius*, and unto whome he had given three cities. When he came to *Antonius* campe, he praied them to bring him one that could speake the PARTHIAN, or SYRIAN tongue. So one *Alexander* ANTIOCHIAN, a famillier of *Antonius*, was brought unto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and sayde, that *Monæzes* had sent him to *Antonius*, to requite the honor and curtesie he had shewed unto him. After he had used this ceremonious speche, he asked *Alexander* if he sawe those highe Mountaines a farre of, which he poynted unto him with his finger. *Alexander* aunswered he did. The PARTHIANS (sayd he) doe lye in ambushe at the foote of those Mountaines, under the which lyeth a goodly playne champion contry: and they thinke that you beeing deceived with their craftie suddill wordes, will leave the way of the Mountaines, and turne into the plaine. For the other way, it is very hard and painefull, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well acquainted withall: but if *Antonius* take the lower way, let him assure him selfe to runne the same fortune that *Marcus Crassus* did. So *Mithridates* having sayd, he departed. *Antonius* was marvelously troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, and therfore called for his

friends, to heare what they would say to it. The MARDIAN also that was their guide, being asked his opinion, aunswered: that he thought as much as the gentleman *Mithridates* had sayd. For, sayd he, admit that there were no ambushe of enemies in the valley, yet is it a long crooked way, and ill to hit: where taking the Mountaine waye, though it be stonye and painefull, yet there is no other daunger, but a whole dayes travelling without any water. So *Antonius* chaunging his first mind and determination, removed that night, and tooke the Mountaine way, commaunding every man to provide him selfe of water. But the most part of them lacking vessells to cary water in, some were driven to fill their salletts and murrians with water, and others also filled goates skinnes to cary water in. Nowe they marching forward, worde was brought unto the PARTHIANS that they were removed: whereuppon, contrary to their manner, they presently followed them the selfe same night, so that by breake of day they overtooke the rereward of the ROMANES, who were so lame and wearied with going, and lacke of sleepe, that they were even done. For, beyond expectacion, they had gone that night, two hundred and forty furlong, and further, to see their enemies so sodainly at their backs, that made them utterly dispaire: but moſte of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst, bicause they were forced to fight as they marched, to drive their enemies backe, yet creeping on still. The vaward of the armie by chaunce met with a river that was very cleere, and colde water, but it was salt and venomous to drinke: for straight it did gnawe the gutts of those that had dronke it, and made them marvelous drye, and put them into a terrible ache and pricking. And notwithstanding that the MARDIAN had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thrust them backe that would have kept them from drinking, and so

A salt river.

dranke. But *Antonius* going up & downe amongst them, prayed them to take a litle pacience for a while, for hard by there was another river that the water was excellent good to drinke, and that from thenceforth the way was so stony and ill for horsemen, that the enemies could followe them no further. So he caused the retreate to be sownded to call them backe that fought, and commaunded the tents to be set uppe, that the souldiers might yet have shadow to refreshe them with. So when the tents were set up, and the PARTHIANS also retyred according to their manner: the gentleman *Mithridates* before named, returned againe as before, and *Alexander* in like manner againe brought unto him for Interpreter. Then *Mithridates* advised him, that after the armie had reposed a litle, the ROMANES should remove forthwith, and with all possible speede get to the river: bicause the PARTHIANS would goe no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. *Alexander* caried the report thereof unto *Antonius*, who gave him a great deale of gold plate to bestowe upon *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* tooke as much of him as he could well cary away in his gowne, and so departed with speede. So *Antonius* raysed his campe being yet day light, and caused all his army to marche, and the PARTHIANS never troubled any of them by the way: but amongst them selves it was as ill and dreadfull a night as ever they had. For there were Villens of their owne company, who cut their fellowes throates for the money they had, and besides that, robbed the sumpters and cariage of such money as they caried: and at length, they set upon *Antonius* slaves that drave his owne sumpters and cariage, they brake goodly tables and riche plate in peeces, and devided it among them selves. Thereupon all the campe was straight in tumult and uprore: For the residue of them were affraid it had been the PARTHIANS that had given them this alarom, and had put all

*Antonius
great liberal-
itie unto
Mithridates,
for the care
he had of his
safetie.*

*The tumult
of Antonius
soldiers
through
covetousnes.*

the armie out of order. Insomuch that *Antonius* called for one *Rhamnus*, one of his slaves infranchised that was of his gard, and made him give him his faith that he would thrust his sword through him when he would bid him, and cut of his head: bicause he might not be taken alive of his enemies, nor knowen when he were dead. This grieved his friends to the hart, that they burst out a weeping for sorrow. The MARDIAN also did comfort him, and assured him that the river he sought for was hard by, and that he did gesse it by a sweete moyst wind that breathed upon them, and by the ayer which they found fresher then they were wont, and also, for that they fetch-ed their wind more at libertie: and moreover, bicause that since they did set forward, he thought they were neare their journeyes ende, not lacking much of day. On the other side also, *Antonius* was informed, that this great tumult and trouble came not through the enemies, but through the vile covetousnes and villany of certaine of his souldiers. Therefore *Antonius* to set his armie againe in order, and to pacifie this uprore, sowned the trompet that every man should lodge. Now day began to breake, and the army to fall againe into good order, and all the hurly burly to cease, when the PARTHIANS drewe neare, and that their arrowes lighted among them of the rere-ward of his army. Thereuppon the signall of battell was given to the light armed men, and the legioners did cover them selves as they had done before with their shields, with the which they received and defended the force of the PARTHIANS arrowes, who never durst any more come to hand strokes with them: and thus they that were in the voward, went downe by litle and litle, till at length they spyed the river. There *Antonius* placed his armed men upon the sands to receive and drive backe the enemies, and first of all, got over his men that were sicke and hurt, and afterwards all the rest. And those also that were

*Antonius
desperat
minde.*

Araxes fl.

18. *severall
battels fought
with the Par-
thians.*

left to resist the enemies, had leysure enough to drinke safely, and at their pleasure. For when the PARTHIANS saw the river, they unbent their bowes, and bad the ROMANES passe over without any feare, & greatly commended their valliantnes. When they had all passed over the river at their ease, they tooke a litle breath, and so marched forward againe, not greatly trusting the PARTHIANS. The sixt daye after this last battell, they came to the river of Araxes, which devideth the contry of ARMENIA from MEDIA: the which appeared unto them very daungerous to passe, for the depth and swiftnes of the streame. And furthermore, there ranne a rumor through the campe, that the PARTHIANS lay in ambushe thereabouts, and that they would come and set upon them whilest they were troubled in passing over the river. But now, after they were all comen safely over without any daunger, and that they had gotten to the other side, into the province of ARMENIA: then they worshipped that land, as if it had bene the first land they had seene after a long and daungerous voyage by sea, being now arrived in a safe and happy haven: and the teares ranne downe their cheekes, and every man imbraced eache other for the great joy they had. But nowe, keeping the fields in this frutefull contry so plentifull of all things, after so great a famine and want of all thinges: they so crammed them selves with such plenty of vittells, that many of them were cast into flyxes and dropsies. There *Antonius* mustring his whole army, found that he had lost twenty thowsandfootemen, & fourethowsandhorsemen, which had not all bene slayne by their enemies: for the most part of them dyed of sicknes, making seven and twenty dayes journey, comming from the citie of PHRAATA into ARMENIA, & having overcome the PARTHIANS in eighteene severall battells. But these victories were not throughly performed nor accomplished, because they followed

no long chase: and thereby it easily appeared, that *Artabaxus* king of ARMENIA, had reserved *Antonius* to end this warre. For if the sixteene thowsand horsemen which he brought with him out of MEDIA, had bene at these battells, considering that they were armed & apparelled much after the PARTHIANS manner, and acquainted also with their fight: When the ROMANES had put them to flight that fought a battell with them, and that these ARMENIANS had followed the chase of them that fled, they had not gathered them selves againe in force, neither durst they also have returned to fight with them so often, after they had bene so many times overthrowen. Therefore, all those that were of any credit & countenance in the army, did perswade and egge *Antonius* to be revenged of this ARMENIAN king. But *Antonius* wisely dissembling his anger, he told him not of his trechery, nor gave him the worse countenance, nor did him lesse honor then he did before: bicause he knew his armie was weake, and lacked things necessary. Howbeit afterwards he returned againe into ARMENIA with a great army, and so with fayer wordes, and sweete promises of Messengers, he allured *Artabaxus* to come unto him: whome he then kept prisoner, and led in triumphe in the citie of ALEXANDRIA. This greatly offended the ROMANES, and made them much to mislike it: when they saw that for *Cleopatraes* sake he deprived his contry of her due honor and glory, onely to gratifie the ÆGYPTIANS. But this was a prety while after. Howbeit then, the great haste he made to returne unto *Cleopatra*, caused him to put his men to so great paines, forcing them to lye in the field all winter long when it snow unreasonably, that by the way he lost eight thowsand of his men, and so came downe to the sea side with a small companye, to a certaine place called BLANCOVRG, which standeth betwixt the cities of BERYTVS and SIDON, and there taried for *Cleopatra*.

The trechery of Artabaxus king of Armenia, unto Antonius.

Antonius triumphed of Artabaxus king of Armenia, in Egypt.

*Antonius
pined away
looking for
Cleopatra.*

And bicause she taried longer then he would have had her, he pined away for love and sorrow. So that he was at such a straight, that he wist not what to doe, and therefore to weare it out, he gave him selfe to quaffing and feasting. But he was so drowned with the love of her, that he could not abide to sit at the table till the feast were ended: but many times while others banketted, he ranne to the sea side to see if she were comming.

*Cleopatra
came to
Blancbourg
unto An-
tonius.*

At length she came, and brought with her a worlde of apparell and money to give unto the souldiers. But some saye notwithstanding that she brought apparell, but no money, and that she tooke of *Antonius* money, and caused it to be given amonge the souldiers in her owne name, as if she had given it them. In the meane time it chaunced, that the king of the MEDES, & *Phraortes* king of the PARTHIANS, fell at great warres together, the which began (as it is reported) for the spoyles of the ROMANES: and grew to be so hot betwene them, that the king of MEDES was no lesse affrayd, then also in daunger to lose his whole Realme. Thereuppon he sent unto *Antonius* to pray him to come and make warre with the PARTHIANS, promising him that he would ayde him to his uttermost power. This put *Antonius* againe in good comfort, considering that unlooked for, the onely thing he lacked, (which made him he could not overcome the PARTHIANS, meaning that he had not brought horsemen, and men with darts and slings enough) was offred him in that sort: that he did him more pleasure to accept it, then it was pleasure to the other to offer it. Hereuppon, after he had spoken with the king of MEDES at the river of Araxes, he prepared him selfe once more to goe through ARMENIA, and to make more cruell warre with the PARTHIANS, then he had done before. Now whilest *Antonius* was busie in this preparation, *Octavia* his wife, whome he had left at ROME, would needes take sea to

*Warres be-
twixt the
Parthians
and Medes.*

come unto him. Her brother *Octavius Cæsar* was willing unto it, not for his respect at all (as most authors doe report) as for that he might have an honest culler to make warre with *Antonius* if he did misuse her, and not esteeme of her as she ought to be. But when she was come to *ATHENS*, she received letters from *Antonius*, willing her to stay there untill his comming, and did advertise her of his journey and determination. The which though it grieved her much, and that she knewe it was but an excuse: yet by her letters to him of aunswer, she asked him whether he would have those thinges sent unto him which she had brought him, being great store of apparell for souldiers, a great number of horse, summe of money, and gifts, to bestow on his friendes and Captaines he had about him: and besides all those, she had two thowsand souldiers chosen men, all well armed, like unto the Prætors bands. When *Niger*, one of *Antonius* friends whome he had sent unto *ATHENS*, had brought these newes from his wife *Octavia*, and withall did greatly prayse her, as she was worthy, and well deserved: *Cleopatra* knowing that *Octavia* would have *Antonius* from her, and fearing also that if with her vertue and honest behavior, (besides the great power of her brother *Cæsar*) she did adde thereunto her modest kind love to please her husband, that she would then be too stronge for her, and in the end winne him away: she suttelly seemed to languish for the love of *Antonius*, pyning her body for lacke of meate. Furthermore, she every way so framed her countenance, that when *Antonius* came to see her, she cast her eyes upon him, like a woman ravished for joy. Straight againe when he went from her, she fell a weeping and blubbering, looked rufully of the matter, and still found the meanes that *Antonius* should oftentimes finde her weeping: and then when he came sodainely uppon her, she made as though she dreyed her eyes, and turned her face

Octavia, Antonius wife, came to Athens to meete with him.

The flickering enticements of Cleopatra, unto Antonius.

*The occasion
of civil war-
res betwixt
Antonius &
Cæsar.*

away, as if she were unwilling that he should see her weepe. All these tricks she used, *Antonius* being in readines to goe into SYRIA, to speake with the king of MEDES. Then the flatterers that furthered *Cleopatraes* mind, blamed *Antonius*, and tolde him that he was a hard natured man, and that he had small love in him, that would see a poore Ladye in such torment for his sake, whose life depended onely upon him alone. For, *Octavia*, sayd they, that was maryed unto him as it were of necessitie, bicause her brother *Cæsars* affayres so required it: hath the honor to be called *Antonius* lawefull spowse and wife: and *Cleopatra*, being borne a Queene of so many thowsands of men, is onely named *Antonius* Lemman, and yet that she disdayned not so to be called, if it might please him she might enjoy his company, and live with him: but if he once leave her, that then it is impossible she should live. To be short, by these their flatteries and enticements, they so wrought *Antonius* effeminate mind, that fearing least she would make her selfe away: he returned againe unto ALEXANDRIA, and referred the king of MEDES to the next yeare following, although he receyved newes that the PARTHIANS at that tyme were at civill warres amonge them selves. This notwithstanding, he went afterwarde and made peace with him. For he married his Daughter which was very younge, unto one of the sonnes that *Cleopatra* had by him: & then returned, beeing fully bent to make warre with *Cæsar*. When *Octavia* was returned to ROME from ATHENS, *Cæsar* commaunded her to goe out of *Antonius* house, and to dwell by her selfe, bicause he had abused her. *Octavia* aunswered him againe, that she would not forsake her husbands house, and that if he had no other occasion to make warre with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her: for sayd she, it were too shamefull a thinge, that two so famous Captaines should bringe in civill

warres among the ROMANES, the one for the love of a woman, and the other for the jealousy betwixt one another. Now as she spake the worde, so did she also performe the deede. For she kept still in *Antonius* house, as if he had bene there, and very honestly and honorably kept his children, not those onely she had by him, but the other which her husband had by *Fulvia*. Furthermore, when *Antonius* sent any of his men to ROME, to sue for any office in the common wealth: she received him very curteously, and so used her selfe unto her brother, that she obtained the thing she requested. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, she did *Antonius* great hurt. For her honest love and regard to her husband, made every man hate him, when they sawe he did so unkindly use so noble a Lady: but yet the greatest cause of their malice unto him, was for the division of lands he made amongst his children in the citie of ALEXANDRIA. And to confesse a troth, it was too arrogant and insolent a part, and done (as a man would say) in derision and contempt of the ROMANES. For he assembled all the people in the show place, where younge men doe exercise them selves, and there upon a high tribunall silvered, he set two chayres of gold, the one for him selfe, and the other for *Cleopatra*, and lower chaires for his children: then he openly published before the assembly, that first of all he did establish *Cleopatra* Queene of ÆGYPT, of CYPRVS, of LYDIA, and of the lower SYRIA, and at that time also, *Cæsarion* king of the same Realmes. This *Cæsarion* was supposed to be the sonne of *Julius Cæsar*, who had left *Cleopatra* great with child. Secondly he called the sonnes he had by her, the kings of kings, and gave *Alexander* for his portion, ARMENIA, MEDIA, and PARTHIA, when he had conquered the contry: and unto *Ptolomy* for his portion, PHENICIA, SYRIA, & CILICIA. And therewithall he brought out *Alexander* in a long

The love of Octavia to Antonius her husband, and her wise and womanly behavior.

Antonius arrogantly devideth diuers provinces unto his children by Cleopatra. Cæsarion, the supposed sonne of Cæsar, by Cleopatra. Alexander and Ptolomy,

*Antonius
sonnes by
Cleopatra.*

gowne after the facion of the MEDES, with a high coped tanke hat on his head, narrow in the toppe, as the kings of the MEDES and ARMENIANS doe use to weare them: & *Ptolomy* apparelled in a cloke after the MACEDONIAN manner, with slippers on his feete, and a broad hat, with a royall band or diademe. Such was the apparell and old attyre of the auncient kinges and successors of *Alexander* the great. So after his sonnes had done their humble duties, and kissed their father and mother: presently a company of ARMENIAN souldiers set there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of the MACEDONIANS the other. Now for *Cleopatra*, she did not onely weare at that time (but at all other times els when she came abroad) the apparell of the goddesse *Isis*, and so gave audience unto all her subjects, as a new

*Accusations
betwext Oct-
avius Cæsar,
and An-
tonius.*

Isis. *Octavius Cæsar* reporting all these thinges unto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people and assembly in ROME: he thereby stirred up all the ROMANES against him. *Antonius* on thother side sent to ROME likewise to accuse him, and the chieffest poyntes of his accusations he charged him with, were these. First, that having spoyled *Sextus Pompeius* in SICILE, he did not give him his parte of the Ile. Secondly, that he did deteyne in his hands the shippes he lent him to make that warre. Thirdly, that having put *Lepidus* their companion and triumvirate out of his part of the Empire, and having deprived him of all honors: he retayned for him selfe the lands and revenues thereof, which had bene assigned unto him for his part. And last of all, that he had in manner devided all ITALY amongst his owne souldiers, and had left no part of it for his souldiers. *Octavius Cæsar* answered him againe: that for *Lepidus*, he had in deede deposed him, and taken his part of the Empire from him, bicause he did overcruelly use his authoritie. And secondly, for the conquests he had made by force of armes,

he was contented *Antonius* should have his part of them, so that he would likewise let him have his part of ARMENIA. And thirdly, that for his souldiers, they should seeke for nothing in ITALY, bicause they possessed MEDIA and PARTHIA, the which provinces they had added to the Empire of ROME, valliantly fighting with their Emperor and Captaine. *Antonius* hearing these newes, being yet in ARMENIA, commaunded *Canidius* to goe presently to the sea side with his sixteene legions he had: and he him selfe with *Cleopatra*, went unto the citie of EPHEVS, and there gathered together his gallies and shippes out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the great shippes of burden: and of those, *Cleopatra* furnished him with two hundred, and twenty thowsand talents besides, and provision of vittells also to mainteyne al the whole army in this warre. So *Antonius*, through the perswasions of *Domitius*, commaunded *Cleopatra* to returne againe into ÆGYPT, and there to understand the successe of this warre. But *Cleopatra*, fearing least *Antonius* should againe be made friends with *Octavius Cæsar*, by the meanes of his wife *Octavia*: she so plyed *Canidius* with money, and filled his purse, that he became her spokes man unto *Antonius*, & told him there was no reason to send her from this warre, who defraied so great a charge: neither that it was for his profit, bicause that thereby the ÆGYPTIANS would then be utterly discouraged, which were the chiefeſt ſtrength of the army by sea: considering that he could see no king of all the kings their confederats, that *Cleopatra* was inferior unto, either for wisdom or judgement, seeing that longe before she had wisely governed so great a realme as ÆGYPT, and besides that she had bene so long acquainted with him, by whom she had learned to manedge great affayres. These fayer perswasions wan him: for it was predestined that the government of all the world

*Antonius
came with
eight hundred
saile against
Octavius
Cæsar.*

*Antonius
carieth Cleo-
patra with
him to the
warres, a-
gainst Octav-
ius Caesar:
and kept
great feasting
at the Ile of
Samos to-
gether.*

should fall into *Octavius Cæsars* handes. Thus, all their forces being joyned together, they hoysed sayle towards the Ile of SAMOS, and there gave them selves to feasts and sollace. For as all the kings, Princes, and communalities, peoples and cities from SYRIA, unto the marishes Mæotides, and from the ARMENIANS to the ILLYRIANS, were sent unto, to send and bringe all munition and warlike preparation they could: even so all players, minstrells, tumblers, fooles, and jeasters, were commaunded to assemble in the Ile of SAMOS. So that, where in manner all the world in every place was full of lamentations, sighes and teares: onely in this Ile of SAMOS there was nothing for many dayes space, but singing and pyping, and all the Theater full of these common players, minstrells, and singing men. Besides all this, every citie sent an oxe thither to sacrifice, and kings did strive one with another who should make the noblest feasts, and give the richest gifts. So that every man sayd, what can they doe more for joy of victorie, if they winne the battell? When they make already such sumptuous feasts at the beginning of the warre? When this was done, he gave the whole rabble of these minstrells, and such kind of people, the citie of PRIENE to keepe them withal, during this warre. Then he went unto the citie of ATHENS, and there gave him selfe againe to see playes and pastimes, and to keepe the Theaters. *Cleopatra* on the other side, being jelous of the honors which *Octavia* had received in this citie, where in deede she was marvelously honored and beloved of the ATHENIANS: to winne the peoples good will also at ATHENS, she gave them great gifts: and they likewise gave her many great honors, and appointed certain Ambassadors to cary the decree to her house, among the which *Antonius* was one, who as a Citizen of ATHENS reported the matter unto her, and made an oration in the behalfe of the citie. Afterwards he sent to ROME to put his wife

*Antonius
put his wife*

Octavia out of his house, who (as it is reported) went out of his house with all *Antoni* children, saving the eldest of them he had by *Fulvia*, who was with her father, bewailing and lamenting her cursed hap that had brought her to this, that she was accompted one of the chiefest causes of this civill warre. The *ROMANES* did pitie her, but much more *Antoni*, and those specially that had seene *Cleopatra*: who nether excelled *Octavia* in beawtie, nor yet in young yeares. *Octavius Cæsar* understanding the sodain and wonderful great preparation of *Antoni*, he was not a litle astonied at it, (fearing he should be driven to fight that sommer) bicause he wanted many things, and the great and grievous exactions of money did sorely oppresse the people. For all manner of men els, were driven to pay the fourth part of their goods and revenue: but the *Libertines*, (to wete, those whose fathers or other predecessors had some time bene bond men) they were sessed to pay the eight part of all their goods at one payment. Hereuppon, there rose a wonderfull exclamation and great uprore all *ITALY* over: so that among the greatest faults that ever *Antoni* committed, they blamed him most, for that he delayed to give *Cæsar* battell. For he gave *Cæsar* leysure to make his preparacions, and also to appease the complaints of the people. When such a great summe of money was demaunded of them, they grudged at it, and grewe to mutinie upon it: but when they had once paied it, they remembred it no more. Furthermore, *Titius* and *Plancus* (two of *Antoni* chiefest friends and that had bene both of them Consuls) for the great injuries *Cleopatra* did them, bicause they hindered all they could, that she should not come to this warre: they went and yelded them selves unto *Cæsar*, & tolde him where the testament was that *Antoni* had made, knowing perfittly what was in it. The will was in the custodie of the *Vestall Nunnes*: of whom *Cæsar* demaunded

Octavia out of his house at Rome.

Octavius Cæsar exacteth grievous paymentes of the Romanes.

Titius and Plancus revolt from Antoni, and doe yeld to Cæsar.

for it. They answered him, that they would not give it him: but if he would goe & take it, they would not hinder him. Thereupon *Cæsar* went thither, and having red it first to him selfe, he noted certaine places worthy of reproch: so assembling all the Senate, he red it before them all. Whereupon divers were marvelously offended, and thought it a straunge matter that he being alive, should be punished for that he had appoynted by his will to be done after his death. *Cæsar* chiefly tooke hold of this that he ordeyned touching his buriall: for he willed that his bodie, though he dyed at ROME, should be brought in funerall pompe through the middest of the market place, and that it should be sent into ALEXANDRIA unto *Cleopatra*. Furthermore, among divers other faultes where-with *Antonius* was to be charged, for *Cleopatraes* sake: *Calvisius*, one of *Cæsars* friends reproved him, bicause he had franckly given *Cleopatra* all the libraries of the royall citie of PERGAMVM, in the which she had above two hundred thowsand several bookes. Againe also, that being on a time set at the table, he sodainly rose from the borde, and trode upon *Cleopatraes* foote, which was a signe given betwene them, that they were agreed of. That he had also suffred the EPHESIANS in his presence to call *Cleopatra*, their soveraine Ladye. That divers times sitting in his tribunall and chayer of state, giving audience to all kings and Princes: he had received love letters from *Cleopatra*, written in tables of onyx or cristall, and that he had red them, sitting in his imperial seate. That one day when *Furnius*, a man of great account, and the eloquentest man of all the ROMANES, pleaded a matter before him: *Cleopatra* by chaunce coming through the market place in her litter where *Furnius* was a pleading: *Antonius* straight rose out of his seate, and left his audience to followe her litter. This notwithstanding, it was thought *Calvisius* devised the most

*A famous
librarie in the
citie of Per-
gamum.*

*Furnius, an
eloquent Or-
ator among
the Romanes.*

part of all these accusations of his owne head. Nevertheless they that loved *Antonius*, were intercessors to the people for him, and amongst them they sent one *Geminus* unto *Antonius*, to pray him he would take heede, that through his negligence his Empire were not taken from him, & that he should be counted an enemy to the people of ROME. This *Geminus* being arrived in GRÆCE, made *Cleopatra* jealous straight of his coming: because she surmised that he came not but to speake for *Octavia*. Therefore she spared not to tawnt him all supper tyme, and moreover to spyte him the more, she made him be set lowest of all at the borde, the which he tooke patiently, expecting occasion to speake with *Antonius*. Now *Antonius* commaunding him at the table to tell him what wind brought him thither: he aunswered him, that it was no table talke, and that he would tell him to morrow morning fasting: but dronke or fasting, howsoever it were, he was sure of one thing, that all would not go well on his side, unles *Cleopatra* were sent backe into ÆGYPT. *Antonius* tooke these wordes in very ill part. *Cleopatra* on the other side aunswered him, thou doe'st well *Geminus*, sayd she, to tell the truth before thou be compelled by torments: but within fewe dayes after, *Geminus* stole away, and fled to ROME. The flatterers also to please *Cleopatra*, did make her drive many other of *Antonius* faithfull servaunts & friends from him, who could not abide the injuries done unto them: amonge the which these two were chiefe, *Marcus Syllanus*, and *Dellius* the Historiographer: who wrote that he fled, because her Phisitian *Glaucus* tolde him, that *Cleopatra* had set some secretly to kill him. Furthermore he had *Cleopatraes* displeasure, because he sayde one night at supper, that they made them drinke sower wine, where *Sarmentus* at ROME drancke good wine of FALERNA. This *Sarmentus* was a pleasaunt younge boye, such as the Lordes of ROME are

Geminus sent from Rome to Antonius, to bid him take heede to him selfe.

Many of Antonius friends doe forsake him.

*Antonius
Empire
taken from
him.*

*Signes and
wonders be-
fore the civill
warres be-
twixt An-
tonius and
Oct. Caesar.
Pesaro, a
citie in Italy,
sonck into
the ground
by an earth-
quake.*

wont to have about them to make them pastyme, which they call their joyes, and he was *Octavius Casars* boye. Nowe, after *Casars* had made sufficient preparation, he proclaymed open warre against *Cleopatra*, and made the people to abolishe the power and Empire of *Antonius*, bicause he had before given it uppe unto a woman. And *Casars* sayde furthermore, that *Antonius* was not Maister of him selfe, but that *Cleopatra* had brought him beside him selfe, by her charmes and amorous poysons: and that they that should make warre with them, should be *Mardian* the Euenuke, *Photinus*, and *Iras*, a woman of *Cleopatraes* bedchamber, that friseled her heare, & dressed her head, and *Charmion*, the which were those that ruled all the affaires of *Antonius* Empire. Before this warre, as it is reported, many signes and wonders fel out. First of all, the citie of *PISAVRVM* which was made a colony to *ROME*, & replenished with people by *Antonius*, standing upon the shore side of the sea Adriatick, was by a terrible earthquake sonck into the ground. One of the images of stone which was set up in the honor of *Antonius*, in the citie of *ALBA*, did sweate many dayes together: and though some wyped it away, yet it left not sweating still. In the citie of *PATRAS*, whilest *Antonius* was there, the temple of *Hercules* was burnt with lightning. And at the citie of *ATHENS* also, in a place where the warre of the gyants against the goddes is set out in imagerie: the statue of *Bacchus* with a terrible winde was throwen downe in the Theater. It was sayd that *Antonius* came of the race of *Hercules*, as you have heard before, and in the manner of his life he followed *Bacchus*: and therefore he was called the new *Bacchus*. Furthermore, the same blustering storme of wind, overthrew the great monstrosous images at *ATHENS*, that were made in the honor of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, the which men had named and intituled, the *Antonians*, and yet they did hurt none of the other im-

ages which were many besides. The Admirall galley of *Cleopatra*, was called *Antoniade*, in the which there chaunced a marvelous ill signe. Swallowes had bred under the poope of her shippe, and there came others after them that drave away the first, and plucked downe their neasts. Now when all things were ready, and that they drew neare to fight: it was found that *Antonius* had no lesse then five hundred good ships of warre, among the which there were many gallies that had eight and ten bancks of oowers, the which were sumptuously furnished, not so meete for fight, as for triumphe: a hundred thowsand footemen, and twelve thowsand horsemen, and had with him to ayde him these kinges and subjects following. *Bocchus* king of LYBIA, *Tarcondemus* king of high CILICIA, *Archelaus* king of CAPPADOCIA, *Philadelphus* king of PAPHLAGONIA, *Mithridates* king of COMAGENA, and *Adallas* king of THRACIA. All the which were there every man in person. The residue that were absent sent their armies, as *Polemon* king of PONT, *Manchus* king of ARABIA, *Herodes* king of IVRY: and furthermore, *Antyntas* king of LYCAONIA, and of the GALATIANS: and besides all these, he had all the ayde the king of MEDES sent unto him. Now for *Cæsar*, he had two hundred and fifty shippes of warre, foure score thowsand footemen, and well neare as many horsemen as his enemy *Antonius*. *Antonius* for his part, had all under his dominion from ARMENIA, and the river of Euphrates, unto the sea IONIVM and ILLYRICVM. *Octavius Cæsar* had also for his part, all that which was in our HEMISPHERE, or halfe part of the world, from ILLYRIA, unto the Ocean sea upon the west: then all from the Ocean, unto Mate Siculum: and from AFRICK, all that which is against ITALY, as GAVLE, & SPAYNE. Furthermore, all from the province of CYRENIA, unto ÆTHIOPIA, was subject unto *Antonius*. Now *Antonius* was made so subject to a womans will, that

An ill signe, foreshewed by swallowes breeding in Cleopatras shippe.

Antonius power against Oct. Cæsar.

Antonius had eyght kinges, and their power to ayde him.

The army and power of Octavius Cæsar against Antonius.

Antonius dominions. Octavius Cæsars dominions.

Antonius too much ruled

by Cleopatra.

though he was a great deale the stronger by land, yet for *Cleopatraes* sake, he would needes have this battell tryed by sea: though he sawe before his eyes, that for lacke of water men, his Captaines did presse by force all sortes of men out of GRÆCE that they could take up in the field, as travellers, muletters, reapers, harvest men, & younge boyes, and yet could they not sufficiently furnishe his gallies: so that the most part of them were empty, and could scant rowe, bicause they lacked water men enowe. But on the contrary side, *Cæsars* shippes were not built for pompe, highe, and great, onely for a sight & bravery, but they were light of yarage, armed and furnished with water men as many as they needed, and had them all in readines, in the havens of TARENTVM, and BRVNDVSIVM. So *Octavius Cæsar* sent unto *Antonius*, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into ITALY: and that for his owne part he would give him safe harber, to lande without any trouble, and that he would withdraw his armie from the sea, as farre as one horse could runne, until he had put his army a shore, and had lodged his men. *Antonius* on the other side bravely sent him word againe, and chalenged the combate of him man to man, though he were the elder: and that if he refused him so, he would then fight a battell with him in the fields of PHARSALIA, as *Julius Cæsar*, and *Pompey* had done before. Now whilest *Antonius* rode at anker, lying idely in harber at the head of ACTIVM, in the place where the citie of NICOPOLIS standeth at this present: *Cæsar* had quickly passed the sea Ionium, and taken a place called TORYNE, before *Antonius* understoode that he had taken shippe. Then began his men to be affraid, bicause his army by land was left behind. But *Cleopatra* making light of it: and what daunger, I pray you, said she, if *Cæsar* keepe at *TORYNE? The next morning by breake of day, his enemies comming with full force of owers in

Antonius
rode at anker
at the head of
Actium:
where the
citie of Nicopolis standeth.

*The grace of
this tawnt

battell against him, *Antonius* was affraid that if they came to joyne, they would take and cary away his shippes that had no men of warre in them. So he armed all his water men, and set them in order of battell upon the forecastell of their shippes, and then lift up all his rancks of owers towards the element, as well of the one side, as the other, with the prooes against the enemies, at the entry and mouth of the gulfe, which beginneth at the point of *ACTIVM*, and so kept them in order of battell, as if they had bene armed and furnished with water men and souldiers. Thus *Octavius Cæsar* beeing finely deceyved by this stratageame, retyred presently, and therewithall *Antonius* very wisely and sodainely did cut him of from fresh water. For, understanding that the places where *Octavius Cæsar* landed, had very litle store of water, and yet very bad: he shut them in with stronge ditches and trenches he cast, to keepe them from salying out at their pleasure, and so to goe seeke water further of. Furthermore, he delt very friendely and curteously with *Domitius*, and against *Cleopatraes* mynde. For, he being sicke of an agewe when he went and tooke a litle boate to goe to *Cæsars* campe, *Antonius* was very sory for it, but yet he sent after him all his caryage, trayne, and men: and the same *Domitius*, as though he gave him to understand that he repented his open treason, he died immediatly after. There were certen kings also that forsooke him, and turned on *Cæsars* side: as *Amyntas*, and *Deiotarus*. Furthermore, his fleete and navy that was unfortunate in all thinges, and unready for service, compelled him to chaunge his minde, and to hazard battell by land. And *Canidius* also, who had charge of his army by land, when time came to follow *Antonius* determination: he turned him cleane contrary, and counselled him to send *Cleopatra* backe againe, and him selfe to retyre into *MACEDON*, to fight there on the maine land. And furthermore told him, that *Dicomes* king

can not properly be expressed in any other tongue, because of the equivocation of this word *Toryne*, which signifieth a citie of *Albania*, and also, a ladell to scoome the pot with: as if she ment, *Cæsar* sat by the fire side, scomming of the pot.

Domitius forsaketh *Antonius*, and goeth unto *Octavius Cæsar*.

Amyntas, and *Deiotarus*, do both revolt from *Antonius*, and goe unto *Cæsar*.

of the *GETES*, promised him to ayde him with a great power: and that it should be no shame nor dishonor to him to let *Cæsar* have the sea, (bicause him selfe and his men both had bene well practised and exercised in battels by sea, in the warre of *SICILIA* against *Sextus Pompeius*) but rather that he should doe against all reason, he having so great skill and experience of battells by land as he had, if he should not employ the force and valliantnes of so many lusty armed footemen as he had ready, but would weaken his army by deviding them into shippes. But now, notwithstanding all these good perswasions, *Cleopatra* forced him to put all to the hazard of battel by sea: considering with her selfe how she might flie, and provide for her safetie, not to helpe him to winne the victory, but to flie more easily after the battel lost. Betwixt *Antonius* campe and his fleete of shippes, there was a great hie point of firme lande that ranne a good waye into the sea, the which *Antonius* often used for a walke, without mistrust of feare or daunger. One of *Cæsars* men perceived it, and told his Maister that he would laugh and they could take up *Antonius* in the middest of his walke. Thereuppon *Cæsar* sent some of his men to lye in ambush for him, and they missed not much of taking of him: for they tooke him that came before him, bicause they discovered to soone, and so *Antonius* scaped verie hardly. So when *Antonius* had determined to fight by sea, he set all the other shippes a fire, but three score shippes of *ÆGYPT*, and reserved onely but the best and greatest gallies, from three bancks, unto tenne bancks of owers. Into them he put two and twenty thowsand fighting men, with two thowsand darters and slingers. Now, as he was setting his men in order of battel, there was a Captaine, and a valliant man, that had served *Antonius* in many battels and conflicts, and had all his body hacked and cut: who as *Antonius* passed by him, cryed out unto

*Antonius in
daunger of
taking at
Actium.*

him, and sayd: O noble Emperor, how commeth it to passe that you trust to these vile brittle shippes? what, doe you mistrust these woundes of myne, & this sword? let the ÆGYPTIANS and PHÆNICIANS fight by sea, and set us on the maine land, where we use to conquer, or to be slayne on our feete. *Antonius* passed by him, and sayd never a word, but only beckoned to him with his hand and head, as though he willed him to be of good corage, although in deede he had no great corage him selfe. For when the Masters of the gallies and Pilots would have let their sailes alone, he made them clap them on, saying to culler the matter withall, that not one of his enemies should scape. All that day, and the three dayes following, the sea rose so high, and was so boysterous, that the battel was put of. The fift day the storme ceased, and the sea calmed againe, and then they rowed with force of owers in battaile one against the other: *Antonius* leading the right wing with *Publicola*, & *Cælius* the left, & *Marcus Octavius* & *Marcus Justeius* the middest. *Octavius Cæsar* on thother side, had placed *Agrippa* in the left winge of his armye, and had kept the right winge for him selfe. For the armies by lande, *Canidius* was generall of *Antonius* side, and *Taurus* of *Cæsars* side: who kept their men in battell raye the one before the other, uppon the sea side, without stirring one agaynst the other. Further, touching both the Chieftaynes: *Antonius* being in a swift pin-nase, was caried up & downe by force of owers through his army, and spake to his people to encorage them to fight valliantly, as if they were on maine land, bicause of the steadines and heavines of their ships: and commaunded the Pilots and masters of the gallies, that they should not sturre, none otherwise then if they were at anker, and so to receive the first charge of their enemies, and that they should not goe out of the straight of the gulfe. *Cæsar* betymes in the morning going out of his tent, to

Antonius re-gardeth not the good counsell of his souldier.

Battail by sea at Actium, betwixt Antonius & Cæsar.

*A lucky
signe unto
Octavius
Cæsar.
Eutychus
Nicon, fort-
unate Con-
queror.*

see his ships thorough out: met a man by chaunce that drave an asse before him. *Cæsar* asked the man what his name was. The poore man told him, his name was *Eutychus*, to say, fortunate: and his asses name *Nicon*, to say, Conquerer. Therefore *Cæsar* after he had wonne the battell, setting out the market place with the spurres of the gallies he had taken, for a signe of his victorie: he caused also the man and his asse to be set up in brasse. When he had visited the order of his armie thorough out, he tooke a litle pinnase, and went to the right wing, and wondered when he sawe his enemies lye stil in the straight, & sturred not. For, decerning them a farre of, men would have thought they had bene shippes riding at anker, and a good while he was so perswaded: So he kept his gallies eight furlong from his enemies. About noone there rose a litle gale of winde from the sea, and then *Antonius* men waxing angry with tarying so long, and trusting to the greatnes and height of their shippes, as if they had bene invincible: they began to march forward with their left wing. *Cæsar* seeing that, was a glad man, and began a litle to give back from the right wing, to allure them to come further out of the straight and gulfe: to thend that he might with his light shippes well manned with water men, turne and envrone the gallies of the enemies, the which were heavy of yarage, both for their biggenes, as also for lacke of watermen to row them. When the skirmish began, and that they came to joyne, there was no great hurt at the first meeting, neither did the shippes vehemently hit one against the other, as they doe commonly in fight by sea. For on the one side, *Antonius* shippes for their heavines, could not have the strength and swiftnes to make their blowes of any force: and *Cæsars* shippes on thother side tooke great heede, not to rushe and shocke with the fore castells of *Antonius* shippes, whose proues were armed with great brasen spurres.

Furthermore they durst not flancke them, bicause their points were easily broken, which way soever they came to set upon his shippes, that were made of great mayne square peeces of tymber, bounde together with great iron pinnes: so that the battel was much like to a battel by land, or to speake more properly, to the assault of a citie. For there were alwaies three or foure of *Cæsars* shippes about one of *Antonius* shippes, and the souldiers fought with their pykes, halberds, and darts, and threw pots and darts with fire. *Antonius* ships on the other side bestowed among them, with their crosbowes & engines of battery, great store of shot from their highe towers of wodde, that were apon their shippes. Now *Publicola* seeing *Agrippa* put forth his left wing of *Cæsars* army, to compasse in *Antonius* shippes that fought: he was driven also to loose of to have more roome, and going a litle at one side, to put those further of that were affraid, and in the midst of the battel. For they were sore distressed by *Aruntius*. Howbeit the battell was yet of even hand, & the victorie doubtfull, being indifferent to both: when sodainely they saw the three score shippes of *Cleopatra* busie about their yard masts, and hoysing saile to flie. So they fled through the midst of them that were in fight, for they had bene placed behind the great shippes, and did marvelously disorder the other shippes. For the enemies them selves wondred much to see them saile in that sort, with ful saile towards PELOPONNESVS. There *Antonius* shewed plainly, that he had not onely lost the corage and hart of an Emperour, but also of a valliant man, and that he was not his owne man: (proving that true which an old man spake in myrth, that the soule of a lover lived in another body, and not in his owne) he was so caried away with the vaine love of this woman, as if he had bene glued unto her, and that she could not have removed without moving of him also. For when he saw

Cleopatra
flieth.

*The soule of a
lover liveth
in another
body.*

Antonius

*flyeth after
Cleopatra.*

Cleopatraes shippe under saile, he forgot, forsooke, and betrayed them that fought for him, and imbarke upon a galley with five bankes of owers, to follow her that had already begon to overthrow him, and would in the end be his utter destruction. When she knew this galley a farre of, she lift up a signe in the poope of her shippe, and so *Antonius* comming to it, was pluckt up where *Cleopatra* was, howbeit he saw her not at his first comming, nor she him, but went and sate down alone in the prow of his shippe, and said never a word, clapping his head betwene both his hands. In the meane time came certaine light brigantynes of *Cæsars* that followed him hard. So *Antonius* straight turned the prow of his shippe, and presently put the rest to flight, saving one *Eurycles* LAC-EDÆMONIAN, that followed him neare, and prest upon him with great corage, shaking a dart in his hand over the prow, as though he would have throwen it unto *Antonius*. *Antonius* seing him, came to the fore castell of his ship, and asked him what he was that durst follow *Antonius* so neare? I am, aunswered he, *Eurycles* the sonne of *Lachares*, who through *Cæsars* good fortune seketh to revenge the death of my father. This *Lachares* was condemned of felonie, and beheaded by *Antonius*. But yet *Eurycles* durst not venter on *Antonius* shippe, but set upon the other Admirall galley (for there were two) and fell with him with such a blowe of his brasen spurre, that was so heavy and bigge, that he turned her round, and tooke her, with another that was loden with very rich stuffe and cariage. After *Eurycles* had left *Antonius*, he returned againe to his place and sate downe, speaking never a word as he did before: and so lived three dayes alone, without speaking to any man. But when he arriv- ed at the head of *Tænarus*, there *Cleopatraes* women first brought *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* to speake together, and afterwards, to suppe and lye together. Then beganne

there agayne a great number of Marchaunts shippes to gather about them, and some of their friends that had escaped from this overthrow: who brought newes, that his army by sea was overthrowen, but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. Then *Antonius* sent unto *Canidius*, to returne with his army into ASIA, by MACEDON. Now for him self, he determined to crosse over into AFRICK, and toke one of his carects or hulks loden with gold and silver, and other rich cariage, and gave it unto his friends: commaunding them to depart, and to seeke to save them selves. They aunswered him weeping, that they would nether doe it, nor yet forsake him. Then *Antonius* very curteously and lovingly did comfort them, and prayed them to depart: and wrote unto *Theophilus* governor of CORINTHE, that he would see them safe, and helpe to hide them in some secret place, until they had made their way and peace with *Cesar*. This *Theophilus* was the father of *Hipparchus*, who was had in great estimation about *Antonius*. He was the first of all his infranchised bondmen that revolted from him, & yelded unto *Cesar*, and afterwarde went and dwelt at CORINTHE. And thus it stooode with *Antonius*. Now for his armie by sea, that fought before the head or foreland of ACTIVM: they held out a longe tyme, and nothing troubled them more then a great boysterous wind that rose full in the prooes of their shippes, and yet with much a doe, his navy was at length overthrowen, five howers within night. There were not slaine above five thousand men: but yet there were three hundred shippes taken, as *Octavius Cesar* writeth him selfe in his commentaries. Many plainly sawe *Antonius* flie, and yet could hardly beleeeve it, that he that had nyneteene legions whole by lande, and twelve thowsand horsemen upon the sea side, would so have forsaken them, and have fled so cowardly: as if he had not oftentimes proved both the one and

Antonius lycenceth his friends to depart, and giveth them a shippe loden with gold and silver.

Antonius navy overthrowen by Cesar.

*Antonius
legions doe
yeld them
selues unto
Octavius
Cæsar.*

the other fortune, and that he had not bene thoroughly acquainted with the diuers chaunges and fortunes of battells. And yet his souldiers still wished for him, and ever hoped that he would come by some meanes or other unto them. Furthermore, they shewed them selues so valiant and faithfull unto him, that after they certainly knewe he was fled, they kept them selues whole together seven daies. In the ende *Canidius*, *Antonius* Lieuetenant, flying by night, and forsaking his campe: when they saw them selues thus destitute of their heads and leaders, they yelded themselves unto the stronger. This done, *Cæsar* sailed towards *ATHENS*, and there made peace with the *GRÆCIANS*, and devided the rest of the corne that was taken up for *Antonius* army, unto the townes and cities of *GRÆCE*, the which had bene brought to extreme misery and poverty, cleane without money, slaves, horse, and other beastes of cariage. So that my grandfather *Nicarcbus* tolde, that all the citzens of our citie of *CHÆRONEA*, (not one excepted) were driven them selues to cary a certaine measure of corne on their shoulders to the sea side, that lieth directly over against the Ile of *ANTICYRA*, and yet were they driven thether with whippes. They caried it thus but once: for, the second tyme that they were charged againe to make the like cariage, all the corne being ready to be caried, newes came that *Antonius* had lost the battel, and so scaped our poore city. For *Antonius* souldiers and deputies fled immediatly, and the citzens devided the corne amongst them. *Antonius* being arrived in *LIBYA*, he sent *Cleopatra* before into *ÆGYPT* from the citie of *PARÆTONIVM*: and he him selfe remained very solitary, having onely two of his friends with him, with whom he wandred up & downe, both of them orators, the one *Aristocrates* a *GRÆCIAN*, and the other *Lucilius* a *ROMANE*. Of whom we have written in an other place, that at the battell where *Brutus*

*Lucilius
spoken of in
Brutus life.*

was overthrowen, by the citie of PHILIPPES, he came and willingly put him self into the hands of those that followed *Brutus*, saying that it was he: bicause *Brutus* in the meane time might have liberty to save him selfe. And afterwards bicause *Antonius* saved his life, he still remained with him: and was very faithfull and frendly unto him till his death. But when *Antonius* heard, that he whom he had trusted with the government of LIBYA, and unto whom he had geuen the charge of his armie there, had yelded unto *Cæsar*: he was so madde withall, that he would have slaine him selfe for anger, had not his frendes about him withstoode him, and kept him from it. So he went unto ALEXANDRIA, and there found *Cleopatra* about a wonderfull enterprise, & of great attempt. Betwixt the redde sea, and the sea betwene the landes that poynt upon the coast of ÆGYPT, there is a litle peece of land that devideth both the seas, and separateth AFRICKE from ASIA: the which straight is so narrow at the end where the two seas are narrowest, that it is not above three hundred furlonges over. *Cleopatra* went about to lift her shippes out of the one sea, and to hale them over the straight into the other sea: that when her shippes were come into this goulfe of ARABIA, she might then carie all her gold and silver away, and so with a great companie of men goe and dwell in some place about the Ocean sea farre from the sea Mediterranium, to scape the daunger and bondage of this warre. But now, bicause the ARABIANS dwelling about the citie of PETRA, did burne the first shippes that were brought alande, & that *Antonius* thought that his armie by lande, which he left at ACTIVM was yet whole: she left of her enterprise, and determined to keepe all the portes and passages of her realme. *Antonius*, he forsooke the citie and companie of his frendes, and built him a house in the sea, by the Ile of PHAROS, upon certaine forced mountes which he

*The fidelitie
of Lucilius
unto Antonius.*

*The wonder-
ful attempt
of Cleo-
patra.*

*Antonius
followeth the
life and ex-*

*ample of
Timon Mis-
anthropus
the Athen-
ian.*

*Plato, and
Aristo-
phanes testi-
mony of
Timon
Misanthro-
pus, what he
was.*

caused to be cast into the sea, and dwelt there, as a man that banished him selfe from all mens companie: saying that he would lead *Timons* life, bicause he had the like wrong offered him, that was affore offered unto *Timon*: and that for the unthankfulness of those he had done good unto, and whom he tooke to be his frendes, he was angry with all men, and would trust no man. This *Timon* was a citizen of *ATHENS*, that lived about the warre of *PELOPONNESVS*, as appeareth by *Plato*, and *Aristophanes* commedies: in the which they mocked him, calling him a vyper, & malicious man unto mankind, to shunne all other mens companies, but the companie of young *Alcibiades*, a bolde and insolent youth, whom he would greatly feast, and make much of, and kissed him very gladly. *Apemantus* wondering at it, asked him the cause what he ment to make so much of that young man alone, & to hate all others: *Timon* answered him, I do it sayd he, bicause I know that one day he shall do great mischief unto the *ATHENIANS*. This *Timon* sometimes would have *Apemantus* in his companie, bicause he was much like to his nature and condicions, and also followed him in maner of life. On a time when they solemnly celebrated the feasts called *Choæ* at *ATHENS*, (to wit, the feasts of the dead, where they make sprincklings and sacrifices for the dead) and that they two then feasted together by them selves, *Apemantus* said unto the other: O, here is a trimme banket *Timon*. *Timon* answered againe, yea said he, so thou wert not here. It is reported of him also, that this *Timon* on a time (the people being assembled in the market place about dispatch of some affaires) got up into the pulpit for Orations, where the Orators commonly use to speake unto the people: and silence being made, everie man listning to heare what he would say, bicause it was a wonder to see him in that place: at length he began to speake in this maner. My Lordes of *ATHENS*, I

have a litle yard in my house where there groweth a figge tree, on the which many citizens have hanged themselves: and because I meane to make some building upon the place, I thought good to let you all understand it, that before the figge tree be cut downe, if any of you be desperate, you may there in time goe hang your selves. He dyed in the citie of HALES, and was buried upon the sea side. Nowe it chaunced so, that the sea getting in, it compassed his tombe rounde about, that no man could come to it: and upon the same was wrytten this epitaphe.

*The epitaphe
of Timon
Misanthro-
pus.*

*Heere lyes a wretched corse, of wretched soule bereft,
Seeke not my name: a plague consume you wicked wretches left.*

It is reported, that *Timon* him selfe when he lived made this epitaphe: for that which is commonly rehearsed was not his, but made by the Poet *Callimachus*.

*Heere lye I Timon who alive all living men did bate,
Passe by, and curse thy fill: but passe, and stay not here thy gate.*

Many other things could we tell you of this *Timon*, but this litle shall suffice at this present. But now to returne to *Antonius* againe. *Canidius* him selfe came to bring him newes, that he had lost all his armie by land at ACTIVM. On thother side he was advertised also, that *Herodes* king of IVRIE, who had also certeine legions and bandes with him, was revolted unto *Cæsar*, and all the other kings in like maner: so that, saving those that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithstanding did nothing trouble him, and it seemed that he was contented to forgoe all his hope, and so to be ridde of all his care and troubles. Thereupon he left his solitarie house he had built in the sea which he called *Timoneon*, & *Cleopatra* received him into her royall pallace. He was no sooner comen thither, but he straight set all the city of rioting and banketing againe, and him selfe, to liberalitie and

*Antonius
rioting in
Alexandria*

*after his
great losse
and over-
throw.*

*Toga virilis.
Antillus, the
eldest sonne
of Antonius
by his wife
Fulvia.*

*An order
erected by
Antonius,
and*

*Cleopatra,
called Syna-
pothanume-
non, revok-
ing the form-
er called
Amimetobi-
on.*

*Cleopatra
verie busie in
proving the
force of poy-
son.*

*The property
of the biting
of an As-
pick.*

giftes. He caused the sonne of *Julius Cesar* and *Cleopatra*, to be enrolled (according to the maner of the ROMANES) amongst the number of young men: and gave *Antyllus*, his eldest sonne he had by *Fulvia*, the mans gowne, the which was a plaine gowne, without gard or imbroderie of purple. For these things, there was kept great feasting, banketing, & dauncing in ALEXANDRIA many dayes together. In deede they did breake their first order they had set downe, which they called Amimetobion, (as much to say, no life comparable) and did set up an other which they called Synapothanumenon (signifying the order and agreement of those that will dye together) the which in exceeding sumptuousnes and cost was not inferior to the first. For their frendes made themselves to be inrolled in this order of those that would dye together, and so made great feastes one to an other: for everie man when it came to his turne, feasted their whole companie and fraternitie. *Cleopatra* in the meane time was verie carefull in gathering all sorts of poysons together to destroy men. Now to make prooffe of those poysons which made men dye with least paine, she tried it upon condemned men in prison. For when she saw the poysons that were sodaine and vehement, and brought speedy death with grievous torments: and in contrary maner, that suche as were more milde and gentle, had not that quicke speede and force to make one dye sodainly: she afterwarde went about to prove the stinging of snakes and adders, and made some to be applied unto men in her sight, some in one sorte, and some in an other. So when she had dayly made divers and sundrie proofes, she found none of all them she had proved so fit, as the biting of an Aspicke, the which only causeth a heavines of the head, without swoounding or complaining, and bringeth a great desire also to sleepe, with a litle swet in the face, and so by litle and litle taketh away the sences

and vitall powers, no living creature perceiving that the patientes feele any paine. For they are so sorie when any bodie waketh them, and taketh them up: as those that being taken out of a sound sleepe, are very heavy and desirous to sleepe. This notwithstanding, they sent Ambassadors unto *Octavius Cæsar* in ASIA, *Cleopatra* requesting the realme of ÆGYPT for her children, and *Antoni* praying that he might be suffered to live at ATHENS like a private man, if *Cæsar* would not let him remaine in ÆGYPT. And bicause they had no other men of estimacion about them, for that some were fledde, and those that remained, they did not greatly trust them: they were inforced to sende *Euphronius* the schoolemaister of their children. For *Alexas* LAODICIAN, who was brought into *Antoni* house and favor by meanes of *Timagenes*, and afterwards was in greater credit with him, then any other GRECIAN: (for that he had alway been one of *Cleopatraes* ministers to win *Antoni*, and to overthrow all his good determinations to use his wife *Octavia* well) him *Antoni* had sent unto *Herodes* king of IVRIE, hoping still to keepe him his friend, that he should not revolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed *Antoni*. For where he should have kept *Herodes* from revolting from him, he perswaded him to turne to *Cæsar*: and trusting king *Herodes*, he presumed to come in *Cæsars* presence. Howbeit *Herodes* did him no pleasure: for he was presently taken prisoner, and sent in chaines to his owne contrie, and there by *Cæsars* commaundement put to death. Thus was *Alexas* in *Antoni* life time put to death, for betraying of him. Furthermore, *Cæsar* would not graunt unto *Antoni* requests: but for *Cleopatra*, he made her aunswere, that he would deny her nothing reasonable, so that she would either put *Antoni* to death, or drive him out of her contrie. Therewithall he sent *Thyreus* one of his men unto her, a verie wise and dis-

Antoni and *Cleopatra* send ambassadors unto *Octavius Cæsar*.

Alexas treason justly punished.

crete man, who bringing letters of credit from a young Lorde unto a noble Ladie, and that besides greatly liked her beawtie, might easely by his eloquence have perswaded her. He was longer in talke with her then any man else was, and the Queene her selfe also did him great honor: insomuch as he made *Antonius* gealous of him. Whereupon *Antonius* caused him to be taken and well favoredly whipped, and so sent him unto *Cæsar*: and bad him tell him that he made him angrie with him, bicause he shewed him selfe prowde and disdainfull towards him, and now specially when he was easie to be angered, by reason of his present miserie. To be short, if this mislike thee said he, thou hast *Hipparchus* one of my infranchised bondmen with thee: hang him if thou wilt, or whippe him at thy pleasure, that we may crie quittaunce. From thenceforth, *Cleopatra* to cleere her selfe of the suspicion he had of her, she made more of him then ever she did. For first of all, where she did solemnise the day of her birth very meanely and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune: she now in contrary maner did keepe it with such solemnitie, that she exceeded all measure of sumptuousnes and magnificence: so that the ghests that were bidden to the feasts, and came poore, went away rich. Nowe things passing thus, *Agrippa* by divers letters sent one after an other unto *Cæsar*, prayed him to returne to ROME, bicause the affaires there did of necessity require his person and presence. Thereupon he did deferre the warre till the next yeare following: but when winter was done, he returned againe through SYRIA by the coast of AFRICKE, to make warres against *Antonius*, and his other Captaines. When the citie of PELVSIVM was taken, there ran a rumor in the citie, that *Seleucus*, by *Cleopatraes* consent, had surrendered the same. But to cleere her selfe that she did not, *Cleopatra* brought *Seleucus* wife and children unto *Antonius*, to be revenged of

*Pelusium
was yeelded
up to Octavian
Cæsar.*

them at his pleasure. Furthermore, *Cleopatra* had long before made many sumptuous tombes and monumentes, as well for excellencie of workemanshippe, as for height and greatnes of building, joyning hard to the temple of *Isis*. Thither she caused to be brought all the treasure and pretious things she had of the auncient kings her predecessors: as gold, silver, emerods, pearles, ebbanie, ivorie, and sinnamon, and besides all that, a marvelous number of torches, faggots, and flaxe. So *Octavius Cæsar* being affrayed to loose suche a treasure and masse of riches, and that this woman for spight would set it a fire, and burne it every whit: he alwayes sent some one or other unto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whilest he in the meane time drewe neere the citie with his armie. So *Cæsar* came, and pitched his campe hard by the city, in the place where they runne and manage their horses. *Antonius* made a saly upon him, and fought verie valliantly, so that he drave *Cæsars* horsemen backe, fighting with his men even into their campe. Then he came againe to the pallace, greatly boasting of this victorie, and sweetely kissed *Cleopatra*, armed as he was, when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of armes unto her, that had valliantly fought in this skirmish. *Cleopatra* to reward his manlines, gave him an armor and head peece of cleane gold: howbeit the man at armes when he had received this rich gift, stole away by night, and went to *Cæsar*. *Antonius* sent againe to chalenge *Cæsar*, to fight with him hande to hande. *Cæsar* answered him, that he had many other wayes to dye then so. Then *Antonius* seeing there was no way more honorable for him to dye, then fighting valliantly: he determined to sette up his rest, both by sea and lande. So being at supper, (as it is reported) he commaunded his officers and household servauntes that waited on him at his bord, that they should fill his cuppes full, and make as muche

*Cleopatraes
monuments
set up by the
temple of
Isis.*

*Strange
noises heard,
and nothing
seene.*

of him as they could: for said he, you know not whether you shall doe so much for me to morrow or not, or whether you shall serve an other maister: and it may be you shall see me no more, but a dead bodie. This notwithstanding, perceiuing that his friends and men fell a weeping to heare him say so: to salve that he had spoken, he added this more unto it, that he would not leade them to battell, where he thought not rather safely to returne with victorie, then valliantly to dye with honor. Furthermore, the selfe same night within litle of midnight, when all the citie was quiet, full of feare, and sorrowe, thinking what would be the issue and ende of this warre: it is said that sodainly they heard a marvelous sweete harmonie of sundrie sortes of instrumentes of musicke, with the crie of a multitude of people, as they had bene dauncing, and had song as they use in *Bacchus* feastes, with movinges and turninges after the maner of the Satyres: and it seemed that this daunce went through the city unto the gate that opened to the enemies, and that all the troupe that made this noise they heard, went out of the city at that gate. Now, such as in reason sought the depth of the interpretacion of this wonder, thought that it was the god unto whom *Antonius* bare singular devotion to counterfeate and resemble him, that did forsake them. The next morning by breake of day, he went to set those few footemen he had in order upon the hills adjoyning unto the citie: and there he stoode to behold his gallies which departed from the haven, and rowed against the gallies of his enemies, and so stoode still, looking what exployte his souldiers in them would do. But when by force of rowing they were come neere unto them, they first saluted *Cæsars* men: and then *Cæsars* men resaluted them also, and of two armies made but one, and then did all together row toward the citie. When *Antonius* sawe that his men did forsake him, and yeelded unto *Cæsar*,

*Antonius
naue doe
yeeld them-
selves unto
Cæsar.*

and that his footemen were broken and overthrowen: he then fled into the citie, crying out that *Cleopatra* had betrayed him unto them, with whom he had made warre for her sake. Then she being affraied of his fury, fled into the tombe which she had caused to be made, and there locked the dores unto her, and shut all the springes of the lockes with great boltes, and in the meane time sent unto *Antonius* to tell him that she was dead. *Antonius* believing it, said unto him selfe: what doest thou looke for further, *Antonius*, sith spitefull fortune hath taken from thee the only joy thou haddest, for whom thou yet reservedst thy life? when he had sayd these words, he went into a chamber and unarmed him selfe, and being naked said thus: O *Cleopatra*, it grieveth me not that I have lost thy companie, for I will not be long from thee: but I am sorry, that having bene so great a Captaine and Emperour, I am in deede condemned to be judged of lesse corage and noble minde, then a woman. Now he had a man of his called *Eros*, whom he loved and trusted much, & whom he had long before caused to sweare unto him, that he should kill him when he did commaunde him: and then he willed him to keepe his promise. His man drawing his sworde, lift it up as though he had ment to have striken his maister: but turning his head at one side, he thrust his sword into him selfe, and fell downe dead at his maisters foote. Then said *Antonius*, O noble *Eros*, I thank thee for this, and it is valliantly done of thee, to shew me what I should doe to my selfe, which thou couldest not doe for me. Therewithall he tooke his sword, and thrust it into his bellie, and so fell downe upon a litle bed. The wounde he had killed him not presently, for the blood stinted a litle when he was layed: and when he came somewhat to him selfe againe, he praied them that were about him to dispatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out and tormenting

Antonius overthrowen by Octavius Caesar. Cleopatra flieth into her tombe or monument.

Eros Antonius servant, slue him selfe.

Antonius did thrust his sword into him selfe, but died not presently.

*Antonius
caried unto
Cleopatraes
tombe.*

*Alament-
able sight to
see Antonius
and Cleo-
patra.*

him selfe: untill at last there came a secretarie unto him called *Diomedes*, who was commaunded to bring him into the tombe or monument where *Cleopatra* was. When he heard that she was alive, he verie earnestlie prayed his men to carie his bodie thither, and so he was caried in his mens armes into the entry of the monument. Notwithstanding, *Cleopatra* would not open the gates, but came to the high windowes, and cast out certaine chaines and ropes, in the which *Antonius* was trussed: and *Cleopatra* her owne selfe, with two women only, which she had suffered to come with her into these monumentes, trised *Antonius* up. They that were present to behold it, said they never saw so pitiefull a sight. For, they plucked up poore *Antonius* all bloody as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death, who holding up his hands to *Cleopatra*, raised up him selfe as well as he could. It was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him up: but *Cleopatra* stowping downe with her head, putting to all her strength to her uttermost power, did lift him up with much a doe, and never let goe her hold, with the helpe of the women beneath that bad her be of good corage, and were as sorie to see her labor so, as she her selfe. So when she had gotten him in after that sorte, and layed him on a bed: she rent her garments upon him, clapping her brest, and scratching her face and stomake. Then she dried up his blood that had berayed his face, and called him her Lord, her husband, and Emperour, forgetting her owne miserie and calamity, for the pitie and compassion she tooke of him. *Antonius* made her ceasse her lamenting, and called for wine, either bicause he was a thirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. When he had dronke, he earnestly prayed her, and perswaded her, that she would seeke to save her life, if she could possible, without reproache and dishonor: and that chiefly she should trust *Proculeius* above any man else about

Cæsar. And as for him selfe, that she should not lament nor sorowe for the miserable chaunge of his fortune at the end of his dayes: but rather that she should thinke him the more fortunate, for the former triumphes and honors he had received, considering that while he lived he was the noblest and greatest Prince of the world, and that now he was overcome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a ROMANE by an other ROMANE. As *Antonius* gave the last gaspe, *Proculeius* came that was sent from *Cæsar*. For after *Antonius* had thrust his sworde in him selfe, as they caried him into the tombes and monuments of *Cleopatra*, one of his gard called *Dercetaus*, tooke his sword with the which he had striken him selfe, and hidde it: then he secretly stole away, and brought *Octavius Cæsar* the first newes of his death, and shewed him his sword that was bloodied. *Cæsar* hearing these newes, straight withdrewe him selfe into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with teares, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had bene his frende and brother in law, his equall in the Empire, and companion with him in sundry great exploytes and battells. Then he called for all his frendes, and shewed them the letters *Antonius* had written to him, and his aunsweres also sent him againe, during their quarrell and strife: and how fiercely and proudly the other answered him, to all just and reasonable matters he wrote unto him. After this, he sent *Proculeius*, and commaunded him to doe what he could possible to get *Cleopatra* alive, fearing least otherwise all the treasure would be lost: and furthermore, he thought that if he could take *Cleopatra*, and bring her alive to ROME, she would marvelously beawtifie and sette out his triumphe. But *Cleopatra* would never put her selfe into *Proculeius* handes, although they spake together. For *Proculeius* came to the gates that were very thicke and strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranewes

The death of Antonius.

Octavius Cæsar lamenteth Antonius death.

Proculeius sent by Octavius Cæsar to bring Cleopatra alive.

through the which her voyce might be heard, and so they withoutunderstoode, that *Cleopatra* demaunded the kingdome of ÆGYPT for her sonnes: and that *Proculeius* answered her, that she should be of good cheere, and not be affrayed to referre all unto *Cæsar*. After he had viewed the place verie well, he came and reported her aunswere unto *Cæsar*. Who immediatly sent *Gallus* to speake once againe with her, and bad him purposely hold her with talke, whilst *Proculeius* did set up a ladder against that high windowe, by the which *Antonius* was trised up, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where *Cleopatra* stooode to heare what *Gallus* sayd unto her. One of her women which was shut in her monuments with her, saw *Proculeius* by chaunce as he came downe, and shreeked out: O, poore *Cleopatra*, thou art taken. Then when she sawe *Proculeius* behind her as she came from the gate, she thought to have stabbed her selfe in with a short dagger she ware of purpose by her side. But *Proculeius* came sodainly upon her, and taking her by both the hands, said unto her. *Cleopatra*, first thou shalt doe thy selfe great wrong, and secondly unto *Cæsar*: to deprive him of the occasion and oportunitie, openly to shew his bountie and mercie, and to geve his enemies cause to accuse the most curteous and noble Prince that ever was, and to appeache him, as though he were a cruell and mercielesse man, that were not to be trusted. So even as he spake the word, he tooke her dagger from her, and shooke her clothes for feare of any poyson hidden about her. Afterwardes *Cæsar* sent one of his infranchised men called *Epaphroditus*, whom he straightly charged to looke well unto her, and to beware in any case that she made not her selfe away: and for the rest, to use her with all the curtesie possible. And for him selfe, he in the meane time entred the citie of ALEXANDRIA, and as he went, talked with the Philosopher

*Cleopatra
taken.*

*Cæsar tooke
the citie of
Alexandria.*

Arrius, and helde him by the hande, to the end that his contrie men should reverence him the more, bicause they saw *Cæsar* so highly esteeme and honor him. Then he went into the show place of exercises, and so up to his chaire of state which was prepared for him of a great height: and there according to his commaundement, all the people of ALEXANDRIA were assembled, who quaking for feare, fell downe on their knees before him, and craved mercie. *Cæsar* bad them all stande up, and told them openly that he forgave the people, and pardoned the felonies and offences they had committed against him in this warre. First, for the founders sake of the same citie, which was *Alexander* the great: secondly, for the beawtie of the citie, which he much esteemed and wondred at: thirdly, for the love he bare unto his verie frend *Arrius*. Thus did *Cæsar* honor *Arrius*, who craved pardon for him selfe and many others, and specially for *Philostratus*, the eloquentest man of all the sophisters and Orators of his time, for present and sodaine speech: howbeit he falsly named him selfe an Academicke Philosopher. Therefore, *Cæsar* that hated his nature and condicions, would not heare his sute. Thereupon he let his gray beard grow long, and followed *Arrius* steppe by steppe in a long mourning gowne, still bussing in his eares this Greeke verse:

Cæsar greatly honored Arrius the Philosopher.

Philostratus, the eloquentest Orator in his time, for present speech upon a sodaine.

*A wise man if that he be wise in deede,
May by a wise man have the better speede.*

Cæsar understanding this, not for the desire he had to deliver *Philostratus* of his feare, as to ridde *Arrius* of malice and envy that might have fallen out against him: he pardoned him. Now touching *Antonius* sonnes, *Antyllus*, his eldest sonne by *Fulvia* was slaine, bicause his schoolemaister *Theodorus* did betray him unto the souldiers, who strake of his head. And the villaine tooke a pretious stone

Antyllus, Antonius eldest sonne by Fulvia, slaine.

of great value from his necke, the which he did sowe in his girdell, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was founde about him, and so *Cæsar* trussed him up for it. For *Cleopatraes* children, they were verie honorable kept, with their governors and traine that waited on them. But for *Cæsarion*, who was sayd to be *Julius Cæsars* sonne: his mother *Cleopatra* had sent him unto the *INDIANS* through *ÆTHIOPIA*, with a great summe of money. But one of his governors also called *Rhodon*, even such an other as *Theodorus*, perswaded him to returne into his contrie, and told him that *Cæsar* sent for him to geve him his mothers kingdom. So, as *Cæsar* was determining with him selfe what he should doe, *Arrius* sayd unto him.

*The saying
of Arrius the
Philosopher.*

Too many Cæsars is not good.

Alluding unto a certaine verse of *Homer* that sayth:

Too many Lords doth not well.

*Cæsarion
Cleopatraes
sonne, put to
death.*

*Cleopatra
burieth An-
tonius.*

*Olympus
Cleopatraes
Phisition.*

Therefore *Cæsar* did put *Cæsarion* to death, after the death of his mother *Cleopatra*. Many Princes, great kings and Captaines did crave *Antonius* body of *Octavius Cæsar*, to give him honorable burial: but *Cæsar* would never take it from *Cleopatra*, who did sumptuously & royally burie him with her owne handes, whom *Cæsar* suffred to take as much as she would to bestow upon his funeralls. Now was she altogether overcome with sorow and passion of minde, for she had knocked her brest so pitiefully, that she had martired it, and in divers places had raised ulsers & inflamacions, so that she fell into a fever withal: whereof she was very glad, hoping thereby to have good colour to absteine from meate, and that so she might have dyed easely without any trouble. She had a Phisition called *Olympus*, whom she made privie of her intent, to thend he shoulde helpe her to ridde her out of

her life: as *Olympus* wryteth him selfe, who wrote a booke of all these thinges. But *Cæsar* mistrusted the matter, by many conjectures he had, and therefore did put her in feare, and threatned her to put her children to shameful death. With these threats, *Cleopatra* for feare yelded straight, as she would have yelded unto strokes: and afterwards suffred her selfe to be cured and dieted as they listed. Shortly after, *Cæsar* came him selfe in person to

*Cæsar came
to see Cleo-
patra.*

see her, and to comfort her. *Cleopatra* being layed upon a litle low bed in poore estate, when she sawe *Cæsar* come into her chamber, she sodainly rose up, naked in her smocke, and fell downe at his feete marvelously disfigured: both for that she had plucked her heare from her head, as also for that she had martired all her face with her nailes, and besides, her voyce was small and trembling, her eyes sonke into her heade with continuall blubbering and moreover, they might see the most parte of her stomake torne in sunder. To be short, her bodie was not much better then her minde: yet her good grace and comelynes, and the force of her beawtie was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this ougly and pitiefull state of hers, yet she showed her selfe within, by her outward lookes and countenance. When *Cæsar* had made her lye downe againe, and sate by her beddes side:

*Cleopatra, a
martired
creature,
through her
owne passion
and fury.*

Cleopatra began to cleere and excuse her selfe for that she had done, laying all to the feare she had of *Antonius*. *Cæsar*, in contrarie maner, reproved her in every poynt. Then she sodainly altered her speache, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were affrayed to dye, and desirous to live. At length, she gave him a breefe and memoriall of all the readie money and treasure she had.

But by chaunce there stooode *Seleucus* by, one of her Treasurers, who to seeme a good servant, came straight to *Cæsar* to disprove *Cleopatra*, that she had not set in al, but kept many things back of purpose. *Cleopatra* was in

*Seleucus, one
of Cleopat-
raes Treasur-
ers.*

*Cleopatra
bet her trea-
sorers before
Octavius
Cæsar.
Cleopatraes
wordes unto
Cæsar.*

such a rage with him, that she flew upon him, and tooke him by the heare of the head, and boxed him wellfavor- edly. *Cæsar* fell a laughing, and parted the fray. Alas, said she, O *Cæsar*: is not this a great shame and reproche, that thou having vouchesaved to take the peines to come unto me, and hast done me this honor, poore wretche, and caitife creature, brought into this pitiefull & miser- able estate: and that mine owne servaunts should come now to accuse me, though it may be I have reserved some juells and trifles meete for women, but not for me (poore soule) to set out my selfe withall, but meaning to geve some pretie presents and gifts unto *Octavia* and *Livia*, that they making meanes and intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy favor and mercie upon me? *Cæsar* was glad to heare her say so, perswading him selfe thereby that she had yet a desire to save her life. So he made her answer, that he did not only geve her that to dispose of at her pleasure, which she had kept backe, but further promised to use her more honorably and bountifully then she would thinke for: and so he tooke his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but in deede he was deceived him selfe. There was a young gentleman *Cornelius Dolabella*, that was one of *Cæsars* very great familiars, and besides did beare no evill will unto *Cleopatra*. He sent her word secretly as she had re- quested him, that *Cæsar* determined to take his journey through *SVRIA*, and that within three dayes he would sende her away before with her children. When this was tolde *Cleopatra*, she requested *Cæsar* that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last oblations of the dead, unto the soule of *Antonius*. This being graunted her, she was caried to the place where his tombe was, and there falling downe on her knees, imbracing the tombe with her women, the teares running downe her cheekes, she began to speake in this sorte: "O my deare Lord *Antonius*,

*Cleopatra
finely deceiv-
eth Octavius
Cæsar, as
though she
desired to
live.
Cleopatraes
lamentation*

not long sithence I buried thee here, being a free woman: and now I offer unto thee the funerall sprinklinges and oblations, being a captive and prisoner, and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing and murdering this captive body of mine with blowes, which they carefully gard and keepe, onely to triumphe of thee: looke therefore henceforth for no other honors, offeringes, nor sacrifices from me, for these are the last which *Cleopatra* can geve thee, sith nowe they carie her away. Whilest we lived together, nothing could sever our companies: but now at our death, I feare me they will make us chaunge out contries. For as thou being a ROMANE, hast bene buried in ÆGYPT: even so wretched creature I, an ÆGYPTIAN, shall be buried in ITALIE, which shall be all the good that I have received by thy contrie. If therefore the gods where thou art now have any power and authoritie, sith our gods here have forsaken us: suffer not thy true frend and lover to be caried away alive, that in me, they triumphe of thee: but receive me with thee, and let me be buried in one selfe tombe with thee. For though my griefes and miseries be infinite, yet none hath grieved me more, nor that I could lesse beare withall: then this small time, which I have bene driven to live alone without thee." Then having ended these doleful plaints, and crowned the tombe with garlands and sundry nosegayes, and marvelous lovingly imbraced the same: she commaunded they should prepare her bath, and when she had bathed and washed her selfe, she fell to her meate, and was sumptuously served. Nowe whilest she was at dinner, there came a contrieman, and brought her a basket. The souldiers that warded at the gates, asked him straight what he had in his basket. He opened the basket, and tooke out the leaves that covered the figges, and shewed them that they were figges he brought. They all of them marvelled to see so goodly figges. The contrie-

over Antonius tombe.

*The death of
Cleopatra.*

*Cleopatraes
two waiting
women dead
with her.*

*Cleopatra
killed with
the biting of
an Aspicke.*

man laughed to heare them, and bad them take some if they would. They beleved he told them truely, and so bad him carie them in. After *Cleopatra* had dined, she sent a certaine table written and sealed unto *Cæsar*, and commaunded them all to go out of the tombes where she was, but the two women, then she shut the dores to her. *Cæsar* when he received this table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requesting him that he would let her be buried with *Antonius*, founde straight what she ment, and thought to have gone thither him selfe: howbeit he sent one before in all hast that might be, to see what it was. Her death was very sodaine. For those whom *Cæsar* sent unto her ran thither in all hast possible, and found the souldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understanding of her death. But when they had opened the dores, they founde *Cleopatra* starke dead, layed upon a bed of gold, attired and araied in her royall robes, and one of her two women, which was called *Iras*, dead at her feete: and her other woman called *Charmion* halfe dead, and trembling, trimming the Diademe which *Cleopatra* ware upon her head. One of the souldiers seeing her, angrily sayd unto her: is that well done *Charmion*? Verie well sayd she againe, and meete for a Princes discended from the race of so many noble kings. She sayd no more, but fell downe dead hard by the bed. Some report that this Aspicke was brought unto her in the basket with figs, and that she had commaunded them to hide it under the figge leaves, that when she shoulde thinke to take out the figges, the Aspicke should bite her before she should see her: howbeit, that when she would have taken away the leaves for the figges, she perceived it, and said, art thou here then? And so, her arme being naked, she put it to the Aspicke to be bitten. Other say againe, she kept it in a boxe, and that she did pricke and thrust it with a spindell of golde, so

that the Aspicke being angerd withall, leapt out with great furie, and bitte her in the arme. Howbeit fewe can tell the troth. For they report also, that she had hid-den poyson in a hollow raser which she caried in the heare of her head: and yet was there no marke seene of her bodie, or any signe discerned that she was poysoned, neither also did they finde this serpent in her tombe. But it was reported onely, that there were seene certeine fresh steppes or trackes where it had gone, on the tombe side toward the sea, and specially by the dores side. Some say also, that they found two litle pretie bytings in her arme, scant to be discerned: the which it seemeth *Cæsar* him selfe gave credit unto, bicause in his triumph he caried *Cleopatraes* image, with an Aspicke byting of her arme. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now *Cæsar*, though he was marvelous sorie for the death of *Cleopatra*, yet he wondred at her noble minde and cor-age, and therefore commaunded she should be nobly buried, and layed by *Antonius*: and willed also that her two women shoulde have honorable buriall. *Cleopatra* dyed being eight and thirtie yeare olde, after she had raigned two & twenty yeres, and governed above foure-teene of them with *Antonius*. And for *Antonius*, some say that he lived three and fiftie yeares: and others say, six and fiftie. All his statues, images, and mettals, were plucked downe and overthrowen, saving those of *Cleo-patra* which stooode still in their places, by meanes of *Archibius* one of her frendes, who gave *Cæsar* a thou-sande talentes that they should not be handled, as those of *Antonius* were. *Antonius* left seven children by three wives, of the which, *Cæsar* did put *Antyllus*, the eldest sonne he had by *Fulvia*, to death. *Octavia* his wife tooke all the rest, and brought them up with hers, and married *Cleopatra*, *Antonius* daughter, unto king *Juba*, a marvel-ous curteous and goodly Prince. And *Antonius*, the son-

The image of Cleopatra, caried in tri-umphe at Rome, with an Aspicke biting of her arme.

The age of Cleopatra and An-tonius.

Of Antonius issue came Emperors.

ne of *Fulvia* came to be so great, that next unto *Agrippa*, who was in greatest estimation about *Cæsar*, and next unto the children of *Livia*, which were the second in estimation: he had the third place. Furthermore, *Octavia* having had two daughters by her first husband *Marcellus*, & a sonne also called *Marcellus*: *Cæsar* married his daughter unto that *Marcellus*, and so did adopt him for his sonne. And *Octavia* also married one of her daughters unto *Agrippa*. But when *Marcellus* was deade, after he had bene married a while, *Octavia* perceiving that her brother *Cæsar* was very busie to choose some one among his friends, whom he trusted best to make his sonne in law: she perswaded him, that *Agrippa* should mary his daughter, (*Marcellus* widow) and leave her owne daughter. *Cæsar* first was contented withall, and then *Agrippa*: and so she afterwards tooke away her daughter and married her unto *Antonius*, and *Agrippa* married *Julia*, *Cæsars* daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of *Octavia* & *Antonius*. *Domitius Ænobarbus* married the one: and the other, which was *Antonia*, so fayer and vertuous a young Ladie, was married unto *Drusus* the sonne of *Livia*, and sonne in law of *Cæsar*. Of this mariage, came *Germanicus* and *Clodius*: of the which, *Clodius* afterwards came to be Emperour. And of the sonnes of *Germanicus*, the one whose name was *Caius*, came also to be Emperour: who, after he had licentiously raigned a time, was slaine, with his wife and daughter. *Agrippina* also, having a sonne by her first husbände *Ænobarbus* called *Lucius Domitius*: was afterwarde married unto *Clodius*, who adopted her sonne, and called him *Nero Germanicus*. This *Nero* was Emperour in our time, and slue his owne mother, & had almost destroyed the Empire of *ROME*, through his madnes and wicked life, being the fift Emperour of *ROME* after *Antonius*.

THE COMPARISON OF DEMETRIUS WITH ANTONIUS

NOW, sithence it falleth out, that *Demetrius* and *Antoni*us were one of them much like to the other, having fortune a like divers and variable unto them: let us therefore come to consider their power and authoritie, and how they came to be so great. First of all, it is certaine that *Demetrius* power and greatnes fell unto him by inheritance from his father *Antigon*us: who became the greatest and mightiest Prince of all the successors of *Alexander*, and had won the most parte of *ASIA*, before *Demetrius* came of full age. *Antoni*us in contrary maner, borne of an honest man, who otherwise was no man of warre, and had not left him any meane to arise to such greatnes: durst take upon him to contend for the Empire with *Cesar*, that had no right unto it by inheritance, but yet made him selfe successor of the power, the which the other by great paine and travell had obteyned, and by his owne industrie became so great, without the helpe of any other: that the Empire of the whole worlde being devided into two partes, he had the one halfe, and tooke that of the greatest countenance and power. *Antoni*us being absent, oftentimes overcame the *PARTH*IANS in battell by his Lieutenaunts, and chased away the barbarous people dwelling about mount *Caucasus*, unto the sea *Hyr*canium: insomuche as the thing they most reprove him for, did most witnes his greatnes. For, *Demetrius* father made him gladly marrie *Phila*, *Antipater*s daughter, although she was too old for him: bicause she was of a nobler house then him selfe. *Antoni*us on thother side was blamed for marying of *Cleopatra*, a Queene that for power and nobilitie of blood, excelled all other kings in her time, but *Arsaces*: and moreover made him selfe so great, that others thought him worthie of greater things,

*The power of
Demetrius,
and Anton-
ius.*

*Demetrius
and Anton-
ius ambition
to governe.*

then he him selfe required. Now for the desire that moved the one and the other to conquer realmes: the desire of *Demetrius* was unblameable and just, desiring to raigne over people, which had bene governed at all times, and desired to be governed by kings. But *Antonius* desire was altogether wicked and tyrannicall; who sought to keepe the people of ROME in bondage and subjection, but lately before rid of *Cæsars* raigne and government. For the greatest and most famous exployte *Antonius* ever did in warres (to wit, the warre in the which he overthrew *Cassius* and *Brutus*) was begon to no other ende, but to deprive his contriemen of their libertie and freedom. *Demetrius* in contrarie maner, before fortune had overthrowen him, never left to set GRÆCE at libertie, and to drive the garrisons away, which kept the cities in bondage; and not like *Antonius*, that bosted he had slaine them that had set ROME at libertie. The chieffest thing they commended in *Antonius*, was his liberalitie and bountie: in the which *Demetrius* excelled him so farre, that he gave more to his enemies, then *Antonius* did to his frends: although he was marvelously well thought of, for the honorable and sumptuous funerall he gave unto *Brutus* bodie. Howbeit *Demetrius* caused all his enemies be buried that were slaine in battel, and returned unto *Ptolomy* all the prisoners he had taken, with great giftes and presentes he gave them. They were both in their prosperitie, verie riotouslie and licentiouslie given: but yet no man can ever say, that *Demetrius* did at any time let slippe any oportunitie or occasion to followe great matters, but onelie gave him selfe in deede to pleasure, when he had nothing else to doe. And further, to say truely, he tooke pleasure of *Lamia*, as a man woulde have a delight to heare one tell tales, when he hath nothing else to doe, or is desirous to sleepe; but in deede when he was to make any preparation for warre, he had

*The liberal-
itie and boun-
tie of Dem-
etrius and
Antonius.*

*Demetrius
& Antonius
riots.*

not then Ivey at his darts end, nor had his helmet perfumed, nor came not out of Ladies closets, picked and print to go to battell: but he let all dauncing & sporting alone, and became as the Poet *Euripides* saith,

The souldier of Mars, cruell, and bloodie.

But to conclude, he never had overthrowe or misfortune through negligence, nor by delaying time to followe his owne pleasure: as we see in painted tables, where *Omphale* secretlie stealeth away *Hercules* clubbe, and tooke his Lyons skinne from him. Even so *Cleopatra* oftentimes unarmed *Antonius*, and intised him to her, making him lose matters of great importaunce, and verie needefull jorneyes, to come and be dandled with her, about the rivers of *Canobus*, and *Taphosiris*. In the ende, as *Paris* fledde from the battell, and went to hide him selfe in *Helens* armes: even so did he in *Cleopatraes* armes, or to speake more properlie, *Paris* hidde him selfe in *Helens* closet, but *Antonius* to followe *Cleopatra*, fledde and lost the victorie. Furthermore, *Demetrius* had many wives that he had married, and all at one time: the which was not dissalowable or not forbidden by the kinges of *MACEDON*, but had bene used from *Philippe* and *Alexanders* time, as also king *Lysimachus* and *Ptolomy* had, and did honor all them that he married. But *Antonius* first of all married two wives together, the which never *ROMANE* durst doe before, but him selfe. Secondly, he put away his first *ROMANE* wife, which he had lawfully married: for the love of a straunge woman, he fondly fell in fancy withall, and contrarie to the lawes and ordinaunces of *ROME*. And therefore *Demetrius* mariages never hurt him, for any wrong he had done to his wives: but *Antonius* contrarily was undone by his wives. Of all the lascivious partes *Antonius* played, none were so abhominable, as this onely fact of *Demetrius*. For the historio-

Canobus, & Taphosiris

Demetrius and Antonius wives.

Antonius the first Romane that ever married two wives together.

Demetrius lasciviousnes.

*Dogges not
suffred in
Athens
castile, bi-
cause of
bitcherie.*

*The love and
impietie: the
faith and
falsehoode of
Demetrius
and Anto-
nius.*

*Demetrius
and Anton-
ius acts in
warres.*

graphers write, that they would not suffer dogges to come into the castell of ATHENS, bicause of all beastes he is too busie with bitcherie: and *Demetrius*, in *Minervae*s temple it selfe lay with Curtisans, and there defiled many citizens wives. And besides all this, the horrible vice of cruelty, which a man would thinke were least mingled with these wanton delights, is joyned with *Demetrius* concupiscence: who suffered, (or more properly compelled) the goodliest young boy of ATHENS, to dye a most pitiefull death, to save him selfe from violence, being taken. And to conclude, *Antonius* by his incontinenzie, did no hurte but to him selfe: and *Demetrius* did hurte unto all others. *Demetrius* never hurte any of his frends: and *Antonius* suffered his Uncle by his mothers side to be slaine, that he might have his will of *Cicero* to kill him: a thing so damnable, wicked, and cruell of it selfe, that he hardlie deserved to have bene pardoned, though he had killed *Cicero*, to have saved his Uncles life. Nowe where they falsefied and brake their othes, the one making *Artabazus* prisoner, and the other killing of *Alexander*: *Antonius* out of doubt had best cause, and justest colour. For *Artabazus* had betrayed him, and forsaken him in MEDIA. But *Demetrius* (as divers doe reporte) devised a false matter to accuse *Alexander*, to cloke the murther he had committed: and some thinke he did accuse him, to whom he him selfe had done injurie unto: and was not revenged of him, that woulde doe him injurie. Furthermore, *Demetrius* him selfe did many noble feates in warre, as we have recited of him before: & contrarily *Antonius*, when he was not there in person, wanne many famous & great victories by his Lieutenantes: and they were both overthrown being personallie in battell, but yet not both after one sorte. For the one was forsaken of his men being MACEDONIANS, and the other contrarily forsooke his that were ROMANES: for he fled, and left them that

ventred their lives for his honor. So that the fault the one did was, that he made them his enemies that fought for him: and the fault in the other, that he so beastlie left them that loved him best, & were most faithfull to him. And for their deathes, a man can not praise the one nor the other, but yet *Demetrius* death was the more reproache-full. For he suffered him selfe to be taken prisoner, and when he was sent away to be kept in a straunge place, he had the hart to live yet three yeare longer, to serve his mouth and bellie, as brute beastes doe. *Antonius* on the other side slue him selfe, (to confesse a troth) cowardly, and miserably, to his great paine and grieve: and yet was it before his bodie came into his enemies hands.

The end of Antonius life.

THE END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME

Duke University Libraries



D00901888Y

888.8

P737LI

v. 6

606723

